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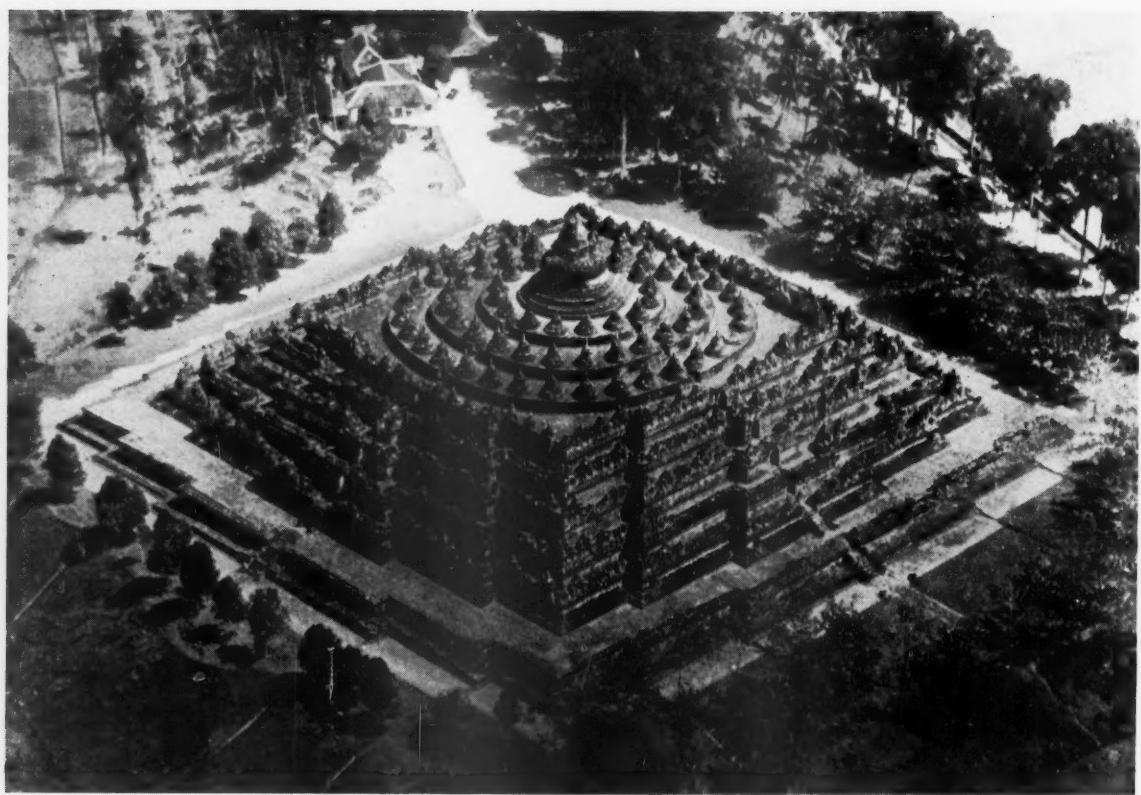


FIG. 1. AERIAL VIEW OF BARABUDUR, JAVA

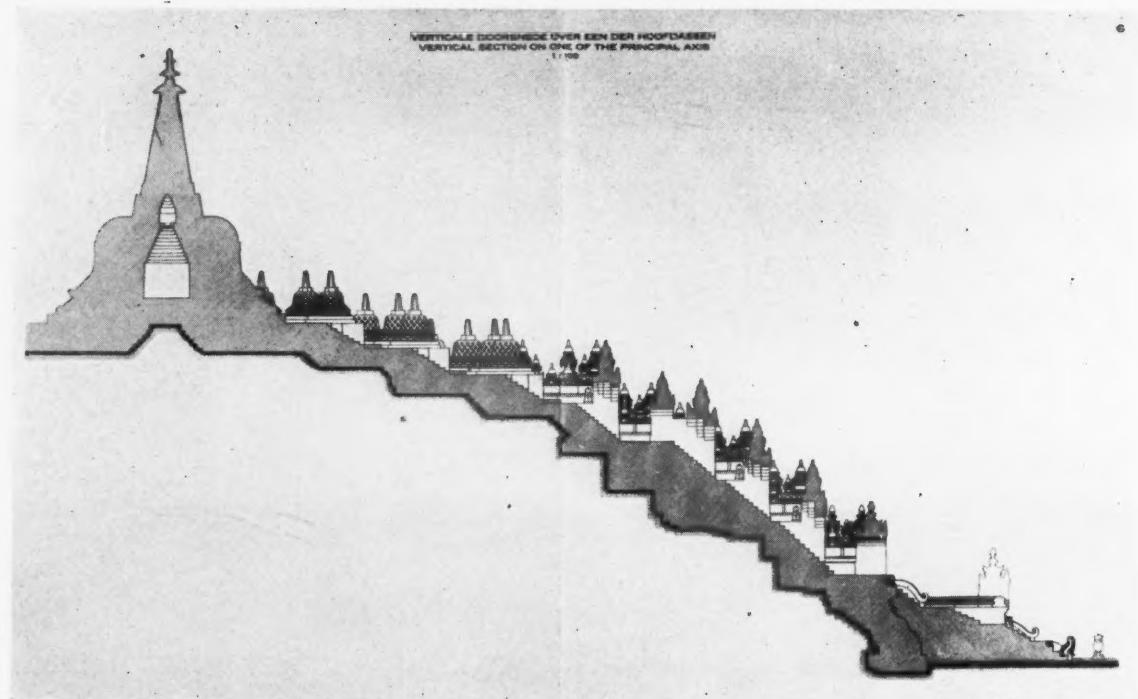


FIG. 2. SECTION OF BARABUDUR



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BARABUDUR
A STUDY OF STYLE AND ICONOGRAPHY
IN ORIENTAL ART

BY BENJAMIN ROWLAND, JR.
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy's explanation in a recent address¹ that the beauty or perfection of a work of art is a matter of accuracy, that art is imagery and should be judged by the correctness of its iconography, could find no better illustration than in the great Buddhist shrine of Barabudur in Java. This approach, it is clear, has nothing to do with the usual objective method of analyzing works of art.

This article on Barabudur is only the very briefest account of a vastly complicated problem and is here presented as a study in a method for the understanding of oriental art and is in no sense intended as a definitive work on what is one of the greatest mysteries of Asiatic religious art. For the present the author submits only a list of those works used in the prep-

¹"A Figure of Speech or Figure of Thought," delivered at the Annual Meeting of the College Art Association in January, 1941.

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aration of this publication which would of course form the basis for any subsequent elaboration of the material.²

A great deal of valuable groundwork has been done on the subject of Barabudur by Dutch archaeologists and most notably by Paul Mus, Baron von Heine-Geldern, and the Japanese Buddhist writer Togano-ō Shōun. In these writings, what we call style, art history and iconography have been treated more or less separately. In this article Barabudur will be taken as an example of how in the traditional religious art of the Orient these approaches are never really separate but must be the study of one and the same thing — the religious purpose which inevitably determined the particular shape and form of a work of art. In conclusion, it is proposed to add my interpretation of the building as a whole with particular reference to the mystery of the Buddha image hid in its terminal stūpa.³

Barabudur, the very name has a majestic and mysterious sound, could well be described as the most important Buddhist monument in greater India, a monument which holds locked within its hidden galleries the final development of Buddhist art in Asia. This sanctuary is really a rounded hill, terraced and clothed in stone, and is marvellously situated in the plain of central Java, rising like a mountain to rival the towering volcanic peaks that frame the horizon (Fig. 1). The name of this famous building has always been a source of dispute among scholars: the translation offered by Paul Mus, "the vihāra of the secret aspect" seems best to describe the deep mysteries it holds. As puzzling as the meaning of its name are the origins of the temple: the consensus of present opinion seems to be that it was raised during the reign of the dynasty founded by Śailendra, the mysterious "King of the Mountain and Lord of the Isles" who, setting out from southern India, made himself an empire of the Malay peninsula, Sumatra, and Java in the middle eighth century A. D. From the time of the decline

²Chatterjee, B. R., *India and Java*, *Greater India Society Bulletin*, 3, Calcutta, 1933; Coedès, G., "Excavations at the Bayon of Angkor Thom," *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the year 1937*, Leiden, 1939; Foucher, A., "Buddhist Art in Java," *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, London, 1920; Heine-Geldern, R. von, "Weltbild und Bauform in Südostasien," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte Asiens*, IV, 1930; Krom, N. J., *Barabudur. Archaeological Description*, The Hague, 1920; Krom, N. J., and Van Erp, T., *Beschrijving van Barabudur*, 's-Gravenhage, 1920; Lebasquais, E., "Le Mystère de Boroboudour," *Études Traditionnelles*, No. 204, Dec., 1936; Leemans, C., *Borobudur*, Leiden, 1874; Macdonald, P. J. W., "Brahboudour," *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, IX, June, 1935; Mus, P., *Barabudur*, Hanoi, 1935; Mus, P., "Has Brahma Four Faces?", *Journal of the Indian Society for Oriental Art*, 1937; Mus, P., "Le symbolisme à Angkor Thom," *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Paris, 1936; Przyluski, J., "The Terminal Stūpa of Barabudur," *Journal of the Greater India Society*, III, 1936; Stern, P., "Le temple montagne khmer; le culte du linga et le devaraja," *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française de l'Extrême-Orient*, 1934, I; Togano-ō, S., *Rishukyō no Kenkyū Kōyasan*, 1930; Togano-ō, S., *Mandara no Kenkyū*, Koyasan, 1927; Wales, H. G. Quaritch, *Towards Angkor*, London, 1937; Zimmer, H., *Kunstform und Yoga im Indischen Kunstdbild*, Berlin, 1926.

³A term meaning the traditional Buddhist reliquary mound or memorial, believed to embody in its shape a microcosmic architectural replica of the cosmos.

of the Śailendra power in the ninth century until the rediscovery of Barabudur in the nineteenth century nothing is known of the history of the temple — beyond the usual history of decay and neglect that has been the lot of so many great sanctuaries of the eastern world. There is no need to linger over the details of the restorations and depredations that went on during the nineteenth century following the excavation of the shrine by Sir Thomas Raffles except to mention the discovery made in 1885 that the ground immediately around the foot of the monument had at some time been filled in to cover a whole series of reliefs decorating what was the original basement story of the building.

Let us at this point examine the architectural arrangement of the temple and then the reasons for this arrangement. It consists of five terraces on a rectangular plan with walled-in galleries on the first four levels; above these are three round platforms open to the sky on which are seventy-two bell-shaped *stūpas* and a sealed terminal *stūpa* at the very summit and center of the monument; a ninth story is present though unseen in the form of the hidden basement (Figs. 2 and 3).

A great many scholars have busied themselves trying to prove that the Barabudur we see today is the result of enumerable alterations and architectural refinements and that we must therefore assume the existence of a primitive Barabudur, limited to three galleries, which were subsequently added to in later dedications. One of the proponents of this theory points out — among other things — that the reliefs illustrating scenes from the life of Buddha were deliberately terminated with the portrayal of Śākyamuni's first preaching when the master-builder arbitrarily decided to devote the subsequent gallery to a different legend: actually the Buddha legend at Barabudur ends with the First Sermon because the reliefs are illustrations of the *Lalitavistara sūtra* which concludes with this event in the Buddha's career and not for any architectural reason. If time allowed it would be possible to refute all of the other arguments on the remodelling of Barabudur: these arguments constitute a warning to those who with no knowledge of the details attempt to approach the Buddhist art of this period only through the architectural technique — forgetting that we have here an art and a religion of great complexity, based entirely on values of religious symbolism and not on technical expedients. What would seem to be the one contradiction to this rule is at the same time its confirmation: it has been suggested that the basement story was later filled in to make a buttress for the crushing weight of the super-structure, but there is a good iconographical necessity for such an expedient as well. Barabudur in its

entirety is a magic replica of the universe⁴ with a regular and definite hierarchy and progress symbolized in its galleries, and so the basement, with its representations of hell scenes and episodes from the world of desire — the first stage which the mystic has to traverse — were covered up to symbolize the suppression of the world of desire. The presence of that world — even though unseen — was, however, magically necessary for the symbolism of the monument: its metaphysical mechanism demanded this as an integral part just as much as the simplest magic diagram which in order to "work" requires a certain number of fixed lines or circles.

Let me at this point briefly summarize the opinions on the outward form of Barabudur which have been most conclusively set forth by Paul Mus. The total mass is a dome cut by galleries which disappear from view if the monument is looked at in profile when the outline becomes that of a *stūpa*. What we have is a pyramid or *prāsāda* inside a *stūpa*, the familiar form of Indian relic mound: this is an exact and accurate architectural representation of the concept of the sky as a solid vault covering the world which was considered to be a mountain — Mt. Meru — whose pyramidal tiers sustain divers orders of creatures: we find these concepts embodied in the cosmologies and the Ziggurat of the ancient Near East and in the Indian belief in the world mountain Meru umbrelleaed by the sky. The number of stories — nine — corresponds to the levels of the Indian Meru and the number includes the subterranean Meru which was believed to extend underground to the foundations of the world — here eloquently represented by the hidden basement. Barabudur is, then, what could be called an architectural replica of the world structure and the number of stories was definitely and unavoidably fixed by this conception.

On entering Barabudur, the pilgrim enters the world of Buddha to read in its reliefs the story of man's journey down the long night of birth and death to ultimate enlightenment with the culmination of the career of the Bodhisattva in the realms of the mystic Buddhas. The whole plan and elevation of Barabudur as a sealed world apart seems to state plainly that its secrets were not to be grasped at once nor lightly taken but rather to be apprehended by degrees. At first the monument seems completely solid and impenetrable — one has to hunt for the entrances opening like caves in a magic mountain (Fig. 4).

The heavily garnished and massively constructed balustrades cloak the

⁴Barabudur is an illustration of the principle in Indian religious art whereby buildings are deliberately made as architectural replicas of the celestial regions or the cosmic system in order to enable the worshipper magically to have access to or power over the supernatural Prototype reconstructed in material form.

galleries in a veil of stone. At the bottom is the buried and inaccessible basement gallery with its relief of the Kāmadhātu. The bas reliefs of the galleries like these passages themselves are completely invisible. Even the Dhyāni Buddhas in their niches are only half-seen so masked are they in their deep architectural grottoes. On the three upper terraces sit seventy-two Buddhas under *stūpas* which are really stone grills and again veil them from view. Finally, at the very zenith, is the supreme Buddha completely hid under the solid stone bell of the terminal *stūpa*.

The reliefs of Barabudur are divided as follows: On the now concealed basement the world of desire and the ceaseless action of *Karma*. On the chief wall, top row, of the first gallery the story of Buddha who showed the way of escape from *Karma*. On the bottom row of the back wall are illustrated *Jātakas* and *Avadānas* — the acts of faith by which the Bodhisattva prepared himself for his task. These continue around the inner wall of the balustrade and on the second gallery. The third gallery illustrates a text devoted to Maitreya — the Buddha of the Future. Less important Maitreya texts are pictured on the balustrade of the third and fourth galleries. The wall of the fourth gallery deals with Samantabhadra, the last Buddha of the Future, and is a text evidently connected with the Dhyāni Buddhas and thereby directly related to the mysterious upper reaches of the sanctuary.

In walking around the monument in the rite of *pradaksina* — that is, describing a sunwise turn with the right shoulder to the wall — the pilgrim dynamically enacted a spiritual experience, following in the footsteps of him who has already entered *Nirvana*. In *stūpas* of the primitive type, such as the famous tope at Sāñchī, the worshipper performed a metaphysical journey through a *mandala* of a very simple type; the psycho-physical pilgrimage there was only on one plane just as in Hinayāna Buddhism one life is one step towards release. At Barabudur the architecture provides for a spiral ascension to the very summit of the pyramid and to the very zenith of life. Barabudur was dedicated to a phase of Buddhism in which all men were believed to have the quality of Bodhic mind and could attain Buddhahood in one life. The physical climb through the architecture magically symbolizes and effects the escape from the materialism and change of the world of the flesh to the final absorption in the Void or Absolute which is symbolized in that strange mirage in stone that greets the worshipper when he emerges into the center of the *mandala* in the empty spaces of the upper terraces. Thus each floor of Barabudur could be said to represent a separate world or plane of life.

The differences in style that exist between the reliefs on the levels of Barabudur are not due to the "aesthetic urge" of various craftsmen nor the desire for "decorative" variation: these styles, as will be noted in further detail, are determined by the nature of the texts the reliefs illustrate.

The carvings of the covered basement representing scenes from hell and the world of men are, as was appropriate for these episodes, from the "real" world, carved with evident realism and a wealth of circumstantial detail reminiscent of that vigorous directness of true popular art that we find in early India. None of those abstract canons of physical beauty reserved for images of Buddha and the gods are here evident in these figures of men and demons.

The same style is evident in the *Jātaka* reliefs of the first gallery (Fig. 5).⁵ In the scenes dealing with the life of Buddha, however, the informality of arrangement and crowding of picturesque details gives way to a more ordered, one might say, more classic composition: we are conscious that the figures are enacting an heroic and universal truth and not participating in the changeable and unreal actions of the world of men. In these reliefs the Buddha appears approximately as an abstractly conceived form in marked contrast to the persisting realism of the setting and figures that surround him (Fig. 6).

The Maitreya story of the third gallery consists of a seemingly endless repetition of a scene representing the disciple Sudhana interviewing one or another of his teachers human and divine. Sometimes the variations consist only of slight changes in setting and in the attributes of the personages involved. The regular stock set is a rich baldachin under which the teacher is seated with the pilgrim Sudhana kneeling in front of him. Here we find a curiously static, empty style in comparison with the rich reliefs of the *Jātakas* and the Buddha story which are so filled with movement and genre detail. In comparison with the crowded, more Indian panels of the lower galleries, these reliefs are even more "classic".

Finally, with the reliefs given over to the Samantabhadra text on the fourth level (Fig. 7), the compositions assume an even more abstract and hieratic quality: rigid groups of numerous Buddhas around a central figure — a composition seemingly endlessly repeated; Sets of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas arranged almost with the formality of a *mandala* or magic diagram. Certainly the very nature of the texts to be illustrated in a way conditioned the character of these reliefs: that is, their generally more phil-

⁵*Jātakas*: Stories of the Buddha's previous incarnations.

osophical nature did not lend itself to anything approaching the liveliness of narrative treatment that we see in the lower galleries. We have a change from the Exoteric to Esoteric doctrine, suggesting the similar division in the text of the Lotus Sūtra (*Saddharma Pundarīka*). The change coming here at the fifth level is significant for it is on leaving the fourth and entering the fifth level of his trance that the yogin begins to become integrated with the One. Moreover it does seem probable that what we describe as generally more empty and static in the compositions of these final reliefs in the Barabudur cyclorama in stone may be deliberate in another way: they are preparing the pilgrim for the great emptiness of the upper terraces where sit the Buddhas of the world beyond form and thought (Fig. 8). These images on the last platforms isolated against the sky are the most eloquent representation of the great void which is the Creator and the last home of the soul that has wandered down the worlds so long and wearily.

The idea of this final emptiness and absence of form is already prophesied in the austerity of setting, the frozen and solemn formality of the reliefs that illustrate the more esoteric texts of the fourth gallery. The transition from the square terraces of the pyramid to the circles of the upper terraces implies the transition from Exoteric to Esoteric, from the material to the spiritual world. The circle has no corners, no directions — it implies an infinite radiation from its center — the realm of boundless spirit, the empyrean. With the pilgrims to Barabudur we too have now emerged from the long stone corridors girdling the pyramid and are face to face with the last great mysteries. The innermost secrets of Barabudur are linked up with the identity and function of the Buddha images that cover the monument from top to bottom: Aksobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi; these are the mystic Buddhas associated with the four directions who are all recognizable by their characteristic *mudrās*⁶ and are placed in niches on the balustrades of the first four galleries on the East, South, West, and North, respectively (Fig. 9). On the fifth gallery on all four sides are images of another Buddha in teaching *mudrā* who is to be identified as a form of Vairocana. There are also seventy-two Buddhas in *dharma-cakra mudrā* half-hidden from view under their lattice-work *stūpas* on the upper terraces. And lastly there is the problem of the image originally enshrined under the closed *stūpa* in the exact center and at the very zenith of this vast cosmological machine in stone.

Before attacking this most complicated and difficult problem in oriental iconography and art, we may seek a momentary respite in analyzing the

⁶*Mudrās*: The mystic gestures of the Buddhist divinities.

style of these images and its derivation. These Buddha images in the refinement of their abstraction may be compared with the great masterpieces of Gupta art in India — as for example the famous Buddha of Sārnāth and certain images found in Orissa. This is particularly interesting since Orissa is immediately adjacent to Kalinga which was the original home of the Sailendra kings. The Buddhas of Barabudur are made with great mathematical nicety of proportion from one of the regular systems of measurement for sacred images known and followed in the Indian world.

The finest of them represent such a beautiful realization of plastic mass and volume and breathing life and a transcendent spiritual clarity of expression that they may rank among the greatest expressions of the sculptural genius in the world. They are indeed the supreme Indian realization of the last Reality. In their finality and crystalline simplicity, these icons recall the words of St. Augustine on Eloquence, "the more genuine as it is so simple; the more terrible as it is so unadorned: truly, an axe hewing the rock!" There is scarcely any more the suggestion of real flesh but of an imperishable and pure spiritual substance — the incorruptible and radiant and adamantine nature of the Diamond, of the Buddha's eternal body. The curious perforated construction of the *stūpas* of the upper terraces is not a decorative caprice on the part of the architect: It has been proposed that these seventy-two Buddhas are half-hidden in these lattice domes to suggest that they are beings in a world without form, the realm of the *Dharmakāya* which may be apprehended but not seen by mortals.

Returning to the problem of the *Dhyāni* Buddhas⁷ and the meaning of the whole monument, it is evident first of all that we have to do with a *mandala* — a solid *mandala* in stone — and that these images represent a mystic hierarchy clustered like a constellation around the mysterious figure which is their Pole Star and sovereign. A *mandala* similar to that portrayed by the Buddha statues on the first five galleries is shown in a relief of the fourth gallery with Vairocana in the center surrounded by the four other mystic Buddhas. In addition to this we may think of a second *mandala* separate and yet inseparable joined to this magic diagram consisting of the Buddha in the terminal *stūpa* surrounded by the seventy-two Buddhas under lattice work domes. The two *mandalas* could be said to be joined like two shells of a Russian Easter egg! These two *mandalas* are essentially the *Ryōbu mandara* of Shingon Buddhism in Japan — the *mandalas* of the material and spiritual world, each presided over by a form of Mahāvairocana the creator. In other words, the first five galleries

⁷The mystic, non-mortal, Buddhas of this, the late esoteric phase of Buddhism.

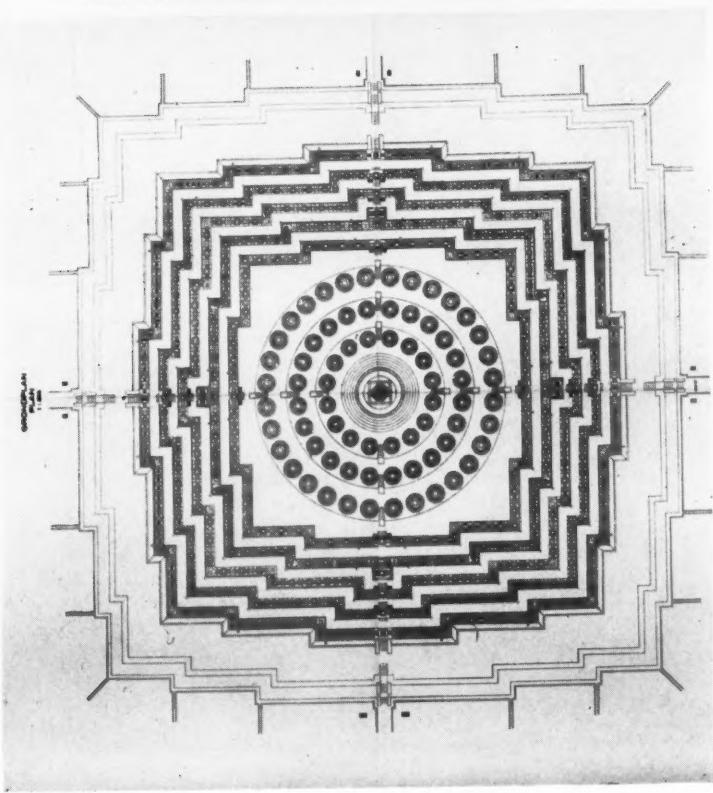


FIG. 3. GROUND PLAN OF BARABUDUR

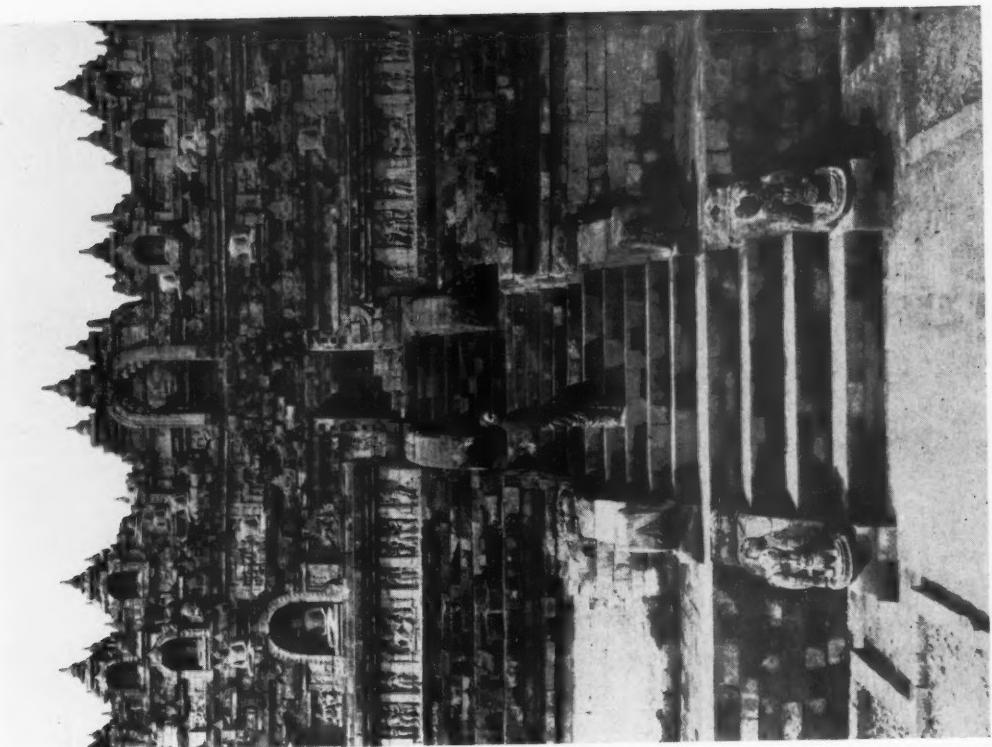


FIG. 4. EXTERIOR VIEW OF BARABUDUR

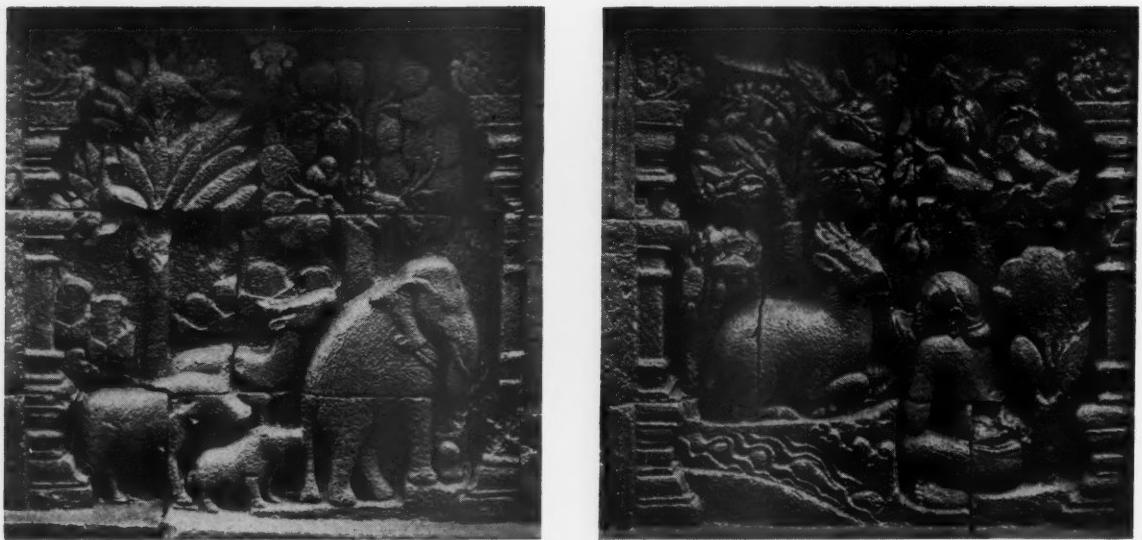


FIG. 5. EPISODE FROM THE RURU JATAKA, BARABUDUR



FIG. 6. THE BODHISATTVA HONORED BY BRAHMA AND KALIKA, BARABUDUR



FIG. 7. ILLUSTRATION OF SAMANTABHADRA TEXT, BARABUDUR

express the *mandala* of the material world and the *mandala* of the upper terraces is the diagram of the spiritual world; stating the solution of this problem in the briefest possible terms, the latter symbolize the *Dharmakāya* of Vairocana whereas the Buddhas of the fifth terrace stand for the *Rupakāya* or form body of the same supreme Buddha, like the Mahāvairocana of the *Kongōkai mandara* in contrast with the Vairocana of the *Taizōkai*.

Why are these seventy-two Buddhas in *stūpas*? Possibly this is a selection of the famous mystic number and represents the building of the quality of time into the monument: Every seventy-two years, as was well known to the ancients, marked a change of one degree in the precession of the equinoxes. So the presence of seventy-two Buddhas, the number present in all the reckonings of the great cycles, would be a plastic-architectural representation of the existence of the Buddha Law through all the past and future kalpas of Time. It is probably no accident that the number 73 corresponds to the total of the principal deities in the *Kongōkai mandara*.

And what of the final riddle — the Buddha of the chief *stūpa*? There has been a great deal of controversy about the Buddha actually found in the ruins of the main *stūpa*: whether it is the original image intended for this place or not; why it is in such an unfinished condition; why is this image which seems to represent Aksobhya placed in the holy of holies above Vairocana? What is more to the point is to discover what sort of an image might appropriately have been installed in the central dome of the monument and then see if the actual statue fits these requirements. The interpretation of the idol of the terminal *stūpa* — and indeed the interpretation of the whole monument — is intimately related with the cult centering around such replicas of the world scheme in architecture as the Bayon at Angkor in Cambodia. Summing up Baron von Heine-Geldern's and Paul Mus' research on this topic, it may be stated that the Bayon temple was the center of the capital of Angkor Thom which was an architectural reconstruction of the cosmos, complete with walls and moat symbolizing the mountains and ocean which circle the world: the Bayon itself was the magic center of the realm; and, in the central tower was a statue of Buddha or rather of the King of Cambodia personified as the Buddha ruling magically over the empire of Cambodia and over the world as well. On all the towers of this shrine of the Devarāja (God-King) are four faces of the Bodhisattva Lokesvara to indicate, not a four-headed monster, but the simultaneous manifestation of Lokesvara at the four points of the compass: this is really one deity seen everywhere at once.

Returning to Java, the author has found evidence that the Devarāja in

the form of a *lingham* was worshipped as early as the sixth century. A later inscription reads: "Having set up with due devotion the statue of the king who was consecrated in the shape of Mahāksobhya . . . I his humble servant have prepared this description by order of the priest of Vajrajñāna." In other words, the great kings of the Sailendra Dynasty were regarded as manifestations of the Buddhas, too.

This leads us to the conclusion that the statue of the chief *stūpa*, following Cambodian precedent, would have been that of a divinized king — a Devarāja or "Buddharāja" — the great Śailendra or King of the Mountain. The seventy-two Buddhas, like the multiple heads of the Bayon towers, in addition to their time symbolism, stood for the extension and emanation of the royal and divine power to every part of the Śailendra empire; that is, there are really not seventy-two Buddhas but one Buddha everywhere manifested. The whole shrine is then the complete world and its order, the succession of points visited by the sun in its round, the cycle of time materialized in space constituting the Law rendered visible in the geographic, political, and spiritual center of the realm.

The chief statue may have been another Vairocana. What it was or if there was any statue there at all does not matter materially: this central highest point is important as the summit of the hierarchy and the terminal *stūpa*, empty or with an image in it, would stand for the Supreme Buddha and the apotheosis of the sovereign. The image or symbol at the highest and innermost point represents — like the highest form in the two *mandalas* — the reduction of multiplicity into essential unity — since in Vairocana all is One. It is the Universal King and Perfect Sage who, placed at the center of the cosmic wheel, sets it in motion and is himself unmoved as the Pole whereon he reigns. It would represent at once the universal rule and the extension of that rule to every atom in every world of the cosmic system and as at Angkor the magic center where is enthroned the divine essence of kings. The whole monument with its hundreds of reliefs and statues is only as I have said before a vast *mandala* — that shows every phase of existence at all times and in all places as so many corporeal manifestations of divine and indescribable and yet universal essence of Vairocana, with which the essence of the king has been merged in supreme apotheosis. Every detail of sculpture and every aspect of the architectural form have been dedicated to the expression of this vast hieratic scheme: what we generally refer to as the "style" of both the Architecture and the Sculpture have been completely determined by the nature of the magical conception that the monument was destined to express.

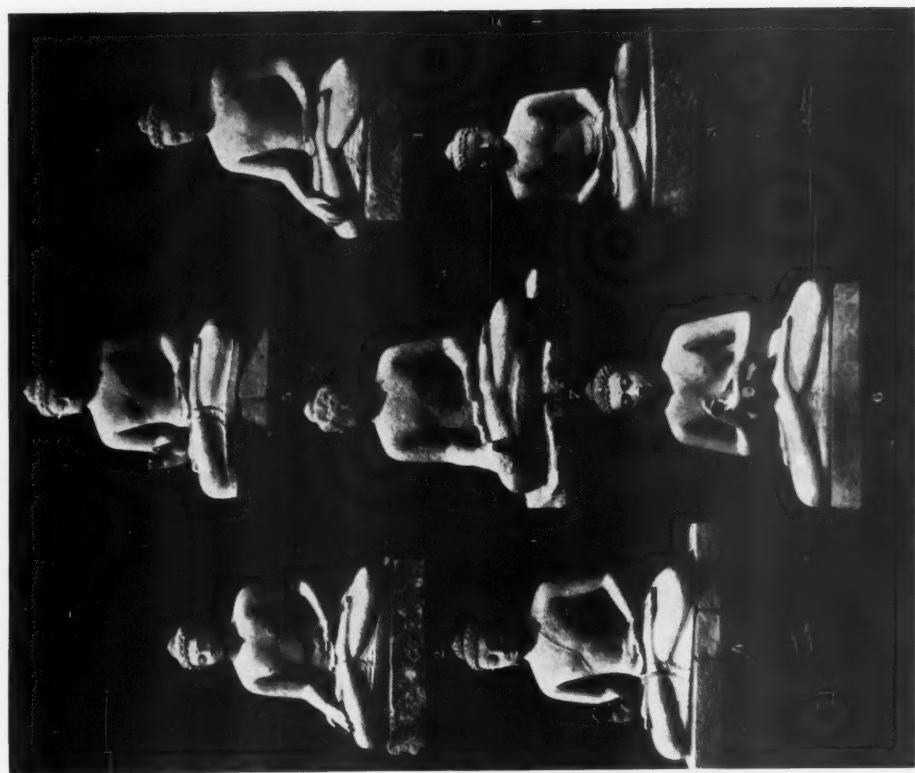


FIG. 9. BUDDHA IMAGES, BARABUDUR

1. Aksobhya (e. side), 2. Rainsembhava (s. side), 3. Amitābha (w. side),
4. Amoghasiddhi (n. side), 5. Vairocana (Fifth Terrace), 6. Vairocana (one
of 72 statues of upper levels), 7. Buddha (of the Terminal Stūpa).



FIG. 8. VAIROCANA BUDDHA, BARABUDUR



FIG. 1. DOSSO DOSSI: LANDSCAPE
Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow

A DOSSO PROBLEM

By VICTOR LASAREFF
Moscow, U. S. S. R.

Some years ago, when sorting and classifying the ikons and paintings of the Donskoi Monastery in Moscow, my attention was suddenly attracted by a landscape (Fig. 1). Notwithstanding a thick coating of dust and old varnish turned green, the beauty of this picture astonished me at the very first glance. Its peculiarly romantic quality involuntarily recalled to my mind the work of Dosso which is so profoundly imbued by this spirit of imaginative fantasy. When, at my urgent request, the picture was transferred to the Museum of Fine Arts and carefully cleaned and restored, this first impression was fully confirmed. The colors which had been concealed under the darkened varnish now glowed in vivid blues, yellows, reds and greens like those of the palette of Dosso, that magician and enchanter of the romantic and chivalrous Ferrara of the Dukes of Este.

This picture¹ proves to be one of the very earliest pure landscapes of the Renaissance — or rather it would be more correct to say nearly pure, because here, as with Giorgione, the landscape is still treated as a frame for the scenes displayed against the background. But the figures are so blended with their natural environment that the anthropomorphism of the Renaissance has almost entirely disappeared. The tiny figures are employed merely as staffage to enliven the landscape; among them are St. Francis receiving the stigmata, St. Jerome seated on a stone and holding a cross, St. Catherine miraculously delivered from torture, St. Christopher bearing the Infant Christ on his shoulder, and St. George fighting the dragon. These small figures stand out vividly, gay light blue, yellow and red accents, against a landscape background which exhibits the artist's wealth of fancy. The landscape foreground, plunged in shadow, is executed in browns and dark emerald green. In the middle distance the greensward on which St. Catherine's martyrdom takes place is brilliantly lighted; indeed the luscious yellow-green of the grass furnishes the highest light of the picture and is in beautiful contrast with the dark clumps of trees in the foreground. The landscape to the right, with St. George fighting the dragon on a lawn and blue distances extending far inland and with buildings touched with soft white lights which seem to dissolve into the haze, is also deeply shadowed. This alternation of zones of different degrees of illumination increases the depth of a landscape in which spaciousness is already empha-

¹Canvas, 0.60 x 0.87.

sized. The storm clouds covering the bluish sky are rent overhead, allowing the clear yellow rays of the sun to break through the dense cloud masses and illuminate the grassy plot in the center. For an analogy to such a handling of the lighting of a landscape we must turn to the *View of Delft* by Vermeer where we find the same marvellous play of light and complicated effects. But while Vermeer's landscape is dominated by a soft lucidity ours is permeated by a quite different spirit — the spirit of romantic intensity. This romantic temper is the result not merely of the peculiar treatment of the lighting but also of the compositional structure. High, abrupt hills contrast with smooth greensward, the ruins of an abandoned mill with the powerful vertical lines of thick-growing trees, castles and villas with dreamlike cities. The topography is wholly fantastic but does not on that account lose verisimilitude and the spectator accepts it as a lovely bit of nature.

In comparison with other Italian landscapes of the early sixteenth century our picture is distinguished by an unusual originality of conception in which the elements of an intimate Venetian landscape are skillfully combined with the richest fantasies of North-European art. The group of buildings near the center in the middle distance might almost have been taken direct from one of Giorgione's canvases, so permeated is it by an atmosphere of restrained lyricism and classical repose. It was thus, with tenderness and delicacy, that Giorgione loved to interpret nature; so also Titian in his early period and Giulio and Domenico Campagnola.² This part of the landscape, quite evidently in the Venetian tradition, contrasts with both foreground and background where everything is dynamic and romantically intense, where everything is redolent of German fantasy disrupting the calm serenity of the Renaissance landscape. The ground level rises only to drop again abruptly; clumps of trees stand out in sharp, asymmetrical silhouettes; the cities and buildings in the distance are like castles in fairyland (Fig. 2).³ We shall find nothing comparable in purely Italian landscapes, nor shall we find in them that detailed manner of execution, connected in many ways with the traditions of late Gothic miniature painting, which appears here in the treatment of the foliage and in the distance, melting into a bluish haze. The treatment of landscape by the Italian mas-

²Cf. *The Tempest*, the Dresden *Sleeping Venus* and the Louvre *Concert* by Giorgione, the London *Noli me Tangere*, *La Zingarella* in Vienna and the pen drawing in Albertina by Titian, the engraving of *The Old Shepherd* by Giulio Campagnola and the engraving of Domenico Campagnola, *Shepherds in a Landscape* and *Nude Woman in a Landscape*.

³Cf. especially Dürer's engraving of *St. Jerome* (B. 61) copied by Zoan Andrea. Cf. also such examples as Dürer's *Sea Monster* (B. 71), *Nemesis* (B. 77) and *St. Eustace* (B. 57).

ters is usually much more generalized. Subordinating details, they build up a synthetic image of nature strictly governed by the principles of composition. But in our picture it is precisely an un-Italian emphasis on detail which strikes our attention. It is not difficult to find analogies to this in the work of Altdorfer⁴ and Patinir.⁵ The strong blue of the background, usually mellowed in characteristic Renaissance landscapes, is also an indication of northern influence.

As I have already remarked above when describing the circumstances under which the Moscow picture was found, the name of Dosso immediately came to mind. A closer examination fully confirms the correctness of this attribution. Convincing stylistic analogies to the Moscow picture can be found in such examples of Dosso's work as the *Departure of the Argonauts* in the Contini Bonacossi collection in Florence (Fig. 3)⁶, *Rustic Idyll* in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 4)⁷, and *Hercules and Pigmies* in the Graz Gallery.⁸ The general spirit of all these landscapes is very similar to that of ours. The sharp, detailed treatment of the foliage is repeated in the *Repose during the Flight into Egypt* in the Uffizi Gallery and in the *St. Jerome in Penitence* in Vienna⁹ where the pose of the saint is nearly identical.¹⁰ The tiny figures in the background (St. Christopher, Princess Marguerite, St. George), so broadly painted, are typical of Dosso's handling and similar figures appear in a number of his undisputed works, such as *Christ and John the Baptist* in the *Baptist of the Pitti*, *Daphne* in the *Apollo and Daphne* of the Borghese Gallery, and *St. George fighting the dragon* in the *Madonna with Sts. Michael and George* in the Modena Gallery.¹¹ This last example is especially instructive as it affords unmistakable evidence of Dosso's familiarity with the works of Raphael from whom he borrowed the rearing horse. Finally, the color scheme, built up of his favorite combination of deep green, blue, red and yellow, also points to Dosso. The Moscow picture has only a superficial resemblance to the work of Battista Dossi (cf., for example, the *Martyrdom of St. Stephan* in the Gottschewski collection in Berlin)¹²; in quality and technique it is incom-

⁴E. g., *St. George* in Munich (1510) and *Landscape with Family of Satyrs* in Berlin (1507).

⁵E. g., *Landscape with Flight into Egypt* in the Antwerp Museum, *Landscape with St. Jerome* in the Duensing collection at Boizenburg, *Landscape with St. Jerome and Inferno* in the Prado.

⁶Longhi, *Una favola del Dosso*, *Vita Artistica* 1927, pp. 92-95; id., *Officina ferrarese*, Rome 1934, pls. 198-201.

⁷Mendelsohn, *Das Werke der Dossi*, Munchen 1914, pp. 71-72.

⁸Zwanziger, *Dosso Dossi*, Leipzig 1911, pl. IX.

⁹Zwanziger, *op. cit.*, pls. XIV and XV.

¹⁰Cf. also the picture attributed to Dosso by Longhi (*Vita Artistica* 1927, p. 95) in the Silj collection in Rome where St. Jerome is represented standing.

¹¹Mendelsohn, *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 73 and 83.

¹²Longhi, *Officina ferrarese*, pl. 206.

parably superior to any of the pictures usually associated with Battista's name which are invariably cold and stiff.

The correct dating of Dosso Dossi's works presents great difficulties since we do not know the exact year of his birth. Vasari¹³ places it about 1474, Boschini the commentator of Baruffaldi¹⁴ and Berenson¹⁵ in 1479, Mendelsohn¹⁶ in 1482. Longhi¹⁷ attempts to shift the date still farther forward to 1489-90 and attacks the problem of the artistic genesis of the master from an entirely new standpoint. He is of the opinion that Dosso Dossi studied and worked in Venice until 1510 where he was strongly influenced by Giorgione and Titian. Later, toward the end of the second decade, Dosso came into contact with the pure Ferrarese tradition and produced, among other things, the *Pieta* in the National Gallery, the *Repose in Flight* in the Uffizi, the *Madonna* of the Borghese Gallery and the *Jerome in Penitence* in Vienna. Mendelsohn¹⁸, on the other hand, dates this last group of pictures between 1505 and 1512 and, unlike Longhi, regards it as the earliest phase of Dosso's artistic development. Longhi's theory is recommended by the fact that it very properly emphasizes the immense importance of Venetian influence on Dosso's early style and gives greater precision to the dating of his youthful productions. But the weak point of his theory is the uncertainty which still remains regarding the transition from the group of the earliest or "Venetian" works (*Sacra Conversazione* in Naples, the *Sacra Conversazione* in the Capitoline Gallery, the *Madonna with Saints and Donors* in the Johnson collection in Philadelphia, the *Madonna with Saints* in Glasgow, the *Bacchanale* in the Castel Sant'Angelo) and the group already mentioned as belonging in the second decade. This leaves most of Longhi's attributions suspended in mid air as it is impossible to bridge the gap between them and Dossi's later undisputed productions when he was a recognized master with a definitely expressed individuality of his own.¹⁹

It appears to me that the early works of Dosso which fall within the second decade of the sixteenth century are the *Bacchanale* in the Castel Sant'Angelo²⁰, the *Herod's Feast* in the Lazzaroni collection in Rome, the

¹³Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere* V, p. 96.

¹⁴Baruffaldi, *Vite de pittori e scultori ferraresi*, Ferrara 1844, I, p. 239.

¹⁵Berenson, *Pitture italiane del Rinascimento*, Milano 1936, p. 149.

¹⁶Mendelsohn, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

¹⁷Longhi, *Officina ferrarese*, p. 136; *Id.*, *Amplimenti nell' Officina ferrarese*, Firenze 1940, pp. 29-31.

¹⁸Mendelsohn, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-46.

¹⁹The group of Dossi's Venetian works as defined by Longhi not only lacks unity, but even leans more toward Brescia and Cremona than toward Ferrara.

²⁰Longhi, *Officina ferrarese*, p. 141, pl. 189.

FIG. 2. Dosso Dossi: LANDSCAPE. DETAIL
Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow





FIG. 3. DOSSO DOSSI: DEPARTURE OF THE ARGONAUTS
Contini Bonacossi Collection, Florence



FIG. 4. DOSSO DOSSI: RUSTIC IDYLL
Metropolitan Museum, New York

Pieta in the National Gallery, the *Madonna* in the Borghese Gallery, the *Repose in Flight* in the Uffizi, *St. Jerome in Penitence* in Vienna, the *Nativity* in the Borghese Gallery²¹, the *Rest in Flight* in Worcester²², the *Departure of the Argonauts* in the Bonacossi Contini collection and the *Rustic Idyll* in the Metropolitan Museum. The influence of Venice is conspicuous in all these, but characteristically Ferrarese qualities become more and more evident as classical repose and clarity diminish and the elements of fantasy and tension in the forms increase. The Moscow landscape must be organically included in this early group to which it is closely akin. There is only one difference — the presence of strongly expressed northern elements. Where and how could Dosso have come in contact with these? Can their presence not be used as an argument against an attribution to him?

It is customary to assume that Dosso's style resulted from a combination of influences — Venetian, especially that of Giorgione and Titian; Roman, especially that of Raphael, and the Quattrocento traditions of Ferrara. But a more thorough analysis of his work indicates the existence of still another source which should by no means be underrated. This is northern art²³, which made a deep impression upon Dosso, immensely broadened his horizons and helped him to free himself from the established standards characteristic of the Renaissance. Vasari showed that he was entirely aware of this when he wrote: "Ebbe in Lombardia nome il Dosso di far meglio i paesi che alcun altro che di quella pratica operasse, o in muro, o a olio, o a guazzo, massimamente dappoi che si e veduta la maniera tedesca."²⁴

Vasari's evidence is especially important because it unequivocally establishes the connection of Dosso's style with German sources; it is apparent that the painters of the second half of the sixteenth century were well

²¹Mendelsohn, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

²²Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, IX-3, fig. 666.

²³Cf. Patzak, *Die Villa Imperiale in Pesaro*, Leipzig 1908, pp. 246-54; Zwanziger, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-97; Mendelsohn, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-7; Longhi, *Officina ferrarese*, p. 147. As indicated by the *Flight into Egypt* in the Leipzig Museum (from the Harck collection in Seusslitz) which Berenson, without sufficient proof, attributes to Dosso Dossi and Battista Dossi, a Ferrarese artist, whose name is unknown to us, and who had also been strongly influenced by the Netherlands, worked in the entourage of the two brothers.

The close connection of Dosso Dossi with the Northern masters is also confirmed by the fact of his collaboration in the year 1531 at Castello di Trento in Buonconsiglio with two German painters — "Bartolamè pictor todisco" and "Zuano todisco". The 15th of November, 1531, Clesio writes: "depentor Todescho tenerlo col Dosso, per cui fa arme e paesi." See Semper, *Il Castello del Buonconsiglio a Trento, documenti*. Supplemento V di *Pro cultura*, Trento 1914, p. 58. Cf. Morassi, *I pittori alla corte di Bernardo Clesio a Trento*, *Bulletino d'Arte* 1929, December, p. 246; February, pp. 367, 375. It is very important to note that Ferrara was always orientated towards Northern art. According to Marcantonio Guarini's testimony (*Compendio historico ecc.*, Ferrara 1621, p. 225) Herri met de Bles called Civetta was even buried in the church of S. Giacomo in Ferrara. But, unfortunately, we do not know the precise term of Herri met de Bles' sojourn in Italy.

²⁴Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere* V, p. 97.

aware of this relationship although it was later forgotten. The Moscow landscape provides the investigator with just the material necessary to confirm the correctness of Vasari's judgment. The fancifulness derived from the traditions of the "maniera tedesca" is full of suggestions of Patinir, Dürer and Altdorfer, and if we consider how sensitively many of the Italian masters of the first quarter of the sixteenth century reacted to the creative searchings of the northern painters and how eagerly they collected Dürer's engravings²⁵, Dosso's enthusiasm for the "maniera tedesca" not only becomes comprehensible but entirely consistent; this movement continued to develop logically in the anti-classical and extremely subjective art of the early mannerists, Pontormo and Beccafumi.

The Moscow picture definitely establishes Dosso's position as one of the leading landscape painters of the sixteenth century. Although contemporaries rated his landscapes so high, this has not prevented either Michel²⁶ or Hind²⁷, in their exhaustive studies of landscape painting, from passing over his name in complete silence. Gramm²⁸ and Buscaroli²⁹ refer to him only casually. But the writers of the sixteenth century never tired of acclaiming Dosso as a great master of landscape painting. As early as 1527 Giovio³⁰ praised the variety of his landscape motives which included steep crags and green groves, shady banks and rich tilth, broad expanses of water and the animated figures of hunters, fowlers, ploughmen and mariners. Vasari³¹, several decades later, though his general attitude toward the art of the Dossi brothers is lukewarm, did not overlook Dosso's importance as the most gifted landscape painter of Lombardy, while in 1585 Lomazzo³² expressed his admiration for the skill with which the brothers rendered the effect of sunlight in their pictures: "I due Dossi nello sfugimento di boschi con raggi del sole che per entro lampeggino." All these opinions are com-

²⁵Here should also be mentioned the name of Lotto, who in his youth was enthusiastic about Dürer; this is in particular testified by the predella of his altar dated 1506, in the Cathedral of Asolo. The "pure" landscape here, one of the earliest in Italian art, stands under undoubted northern influence. See Tietze-Conrat, *Das erste moderne Landschaftsbild*, Pantheon 1935, February, pp. 72-73.

²⁶Michel, *Les maîtres du paysage*, Paris 1909.

²⁷Hind, *Landscape Painting from Giotto to the Present Day*, I-II, London 1923.

²⁸Gramm, *Die ideale Landschaft*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1912, pp. 268-71.

²⁹Buscaroli, *La pittura di paesaggio in Italia*, Bologna 1935, pp. 214-217. The author of this book sets himself the task of proving the absolute originality of Italian landscape art which, in his opinion did not undergo any northern influence (cfr. chapter III-*Il paesaggio "nordico" e le sue relazioni col paesaggio italiano*). Against this exceedingly prejudiced and tendentious point of view speak such a great number of facts that it seems to me quite groundless.

³⁰Fragmentum Trium Dialogorum Pauli Jovii Episcopi Nucerini Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, VII-4, vol. 13, Milano 1824, p. 2498.

³¹Vasari-Milanesi, *Opere* V, p. 97.

³²Lomazzo, *Trattato dell' arte della pittura*, Milano 1584, p. 474.

pletely justified by the Moscow picture which conveys to us the peculiar charm of those branches of art for which Dosso was famous in his own time, not merely as a painter of small, intimate landscapes, but also of those famous frescoes, now lost, made for the Duchess of Mantua in 1523-25 and for Alfonso, which were among the earliest examples of pure landscape in monumental painting.

In general Dosso's work may be appraised as one of the most original offshoots of the Venetian school; in it, for the first time on Italian soil, landscape was divorced from historical compositions as sufficient in itself. With Giorgione this process is most fully crystallized; landscape, infused by a purely secular spirit, not only assumed an equal place with figure painting, but also became a vehicle for the minutest lyrical experiences. Prior to Giorgione landscape had been entirely subservient to the figure; it was merely a background and it remained so to Leonardo also. The anthropomorphism of the Renaissance always tended to reduce it to the level of an accessory art, for the interest of the artist in man, the center of creation, was all-absorbing. Nature was, so to speak, thrown into the shade by homo sapiens. This is especially conspicuous in Michelangelo and is true in considerable degree of all the Florentine masters from Giotto to Pontormo. It was under these conditions that Giorgione came forward with the new principle and we may well regard him as a genuine innovator. But even Giorgione is not wholly successful in overcoming the anthropomorphic tradition; his pictures are, after all, still primarily historical compositions however important the part played by the landscape. It is true that these historical compositions are so obscure that all the resources of modern research are strained to find the key to them, but nevertheless "historical compositions" these pictures still remain. Their charm, as in our picture, consists of the interweaving of the elements of pure landscape with the historical elements, these latter being so subordinated to the former as to be almost lost in them. The landscape becomes the dominating motive while the figures seen against the background are wholly secondary or merge with the natural features. Such an approach was the most advanced solution of which the Italy of the Renaissance was capable.

In northern Europe, that is, in the Netherlands and Germany, the evolution of landscape painting pursued an entirely different course. Here the point of departure was not the antique, with its cult of the statuesque figure, but the late Gothic tradition in which the naturalistic tendency developed simultaneously in all branches of representative art. For this

reason it affected not only the figure but also the surrounding space, regardless of whether this space was an interior or a landscape. The pantheistic approach to reality made the smallest ornamental leaflet or bit of landscape equally important with the human figure. This is the explanation of the early appearance of landscape painting in north European art. In the miniatures of the *Très riches Heures* of the Duke of Berry at Chantilly as well as in the Milan and Turin breviaries we find renderings astonishingly true to nature and far in advance of anything to be found in the contemporaneous Italian art. Landscape painting is still further developed, gradually becoming an independent genre, in the works of the Netherland artists, Jan van Eyck, Dirk Bouts, Geertgen Tot Sint Yans, Gerard David, Bosch and Patinir, and of the Germans, Schonhauer, Witz, Altdorfer and Dürer. These northern landscapes are amazing in the jewel-like elaboration of their minutest details, in the marvellous radiance of their coloring, in the richness of their conception often bordering on the fantastic, in their exquisite effects of light and the touching naiveté of their treatment based on the principle of narration. Compared with the colder, more "idealized" Italian landscapes they seem warmed by a profoundly human quality. It was to this source that the Italian masters turned in their search for a new impulse which should help them overcome the anthropomorphism of the Renaissance. It was here that Domenico Veneziano, Baldovinetti, Piero della Francesca and Piero di Cosimo found fresh inspiration and from this source Dosso Dossi also drew. The influence of this northern art was destined to become a positive factor in the development of Italian landscape painting, enriching it with new motives and broadening its limitations. It is only when we state the problem in this way that we can fully comprehend the stimulating effect of northern influence on Dosso's art which helped to place him with Giorgione and Titian as one of the greatest Italian landscape painters of the sixteenth century.

A NOTE ON APHRODITE IN THE RENAISSANCE

BY GEORGE W. ELDERKIN
Princeton, New Jersey

An innovation in Athenian art of the fourth century, the representation of Aphrodite nude, was destined to have a long if not enviable career. When Praxiteles took Phryne as the model for his statue of the Cnidian Aphrodite he deified his mistress rather than humanized the goddess. Such deification was not confined to art, for later in the same century the mistresses of Demetrius Poliorcetes were deified as Aphrodite by the Athenians in compliment to the new ruler of their city. Both the sculptor and the citizen of Athens had been prepared for this conception of the goddess by her cult which had come from the island of Cyprus at an early date. As a goddess of fertility whose worship could be as frankly primitive as that of Dionysus she fulfilled her mission in a manner which shocked the early Christian fathers. The dedication in public places of nude statues of the goddess to which women turned for help in marriage¹, and the practice of sacred prostitution in her sanctuary² were enough to provoke Christian denunciation of her. The author of *Revelation* who may have known that Aphrodite had the title Harlot at Abydus³ and that her shrine at Corinth was thronged with such, seems to refer to her as "the mother of harlots upon whose brow was the word mystery."⁴ The same author's description of her "as the great whore that sitteth upon many waters" and as "a woman seated upon a scarlet colored beast" may allude to the tradition that Aphrodite arose from the sea and to such representation of her riding upon a bull as appears on the coins of Sidon in the first century before and after Christ.⁵ With this reputation inherited from the pagan age Aphrodite could be nothing else for the Christian than a personification of the pleasure that leadeth to destruction. A few illustrations from the minor art of the Renaissance will suffice.

In a pen drawing by the younger Peter Vischer virtue and pleasure are personified as female forms inscribed Virtutes and Voluptas (Fig. 2).⁶ The latter is young and completely nude save for a pair of sandals which are

¹Mark the Deacon, *Life of Porphyry* (translated by G. F. Hill) p. 69.

²Frazer, *Adonis, Attis and Osiris* p. 31.

³Athenaeus 572e.

⁴Revelation XVII.

⁵Figured in *Jahr. d. Arch. Inst.*, 1937, p. 91.

⁶Panofsky, *Hercules am Scheidewege* fig. 42. I wish to thank Dr. Panofsky for reading this paper and giving me the benefit of his able criticism.

out of place since she stands on a large cushion.⁷ Behind her on the right is the yawning mouth of a monster in which is Cerberus, the triple-headed hound of Hades. Thus clearly is the devotee of pleasure warned of his ultimate destiny. The scene with its medley of classical elements could serve as an illustration of a passage in the *Bacchides* of Plautus where Lydus refers to the house of the courtesan Bacchis with the words *januam hanc Orci* (v. 368), or again of the warning in *Proverbs VII*, 27 that the house of the harlot is the way to hell, "going down to the chambers of death." The origin of the Voluptas is ultimately to be sought in the representation of the nude Aphrodite of the fourth century in art and in the Sophoclean identification of the goddess with *Hedone* "Pleasure." The poet described her as anointing herself with myrrh and beholding herself in a mirror, in sharp contrast to Athena whom he identifies with Virtue anointing herself with oil and practising gymnastic exercises. The motif of a nude female form wearing sandals is Hellenistic as one may conclude from the Delian group where Aphrodite appears wearing a sandal very like that of the Voluptas (Fig. 1). The fountain which the latter seems to touch with her hand may be a reminiscence of the spring at which Aphrodite in the Hellenistic and Roman period was frequently represented as standing or crouching. Beside the Cnidian Aphrodite is a water jar as a substitute for a spring. In the drawing Voluptas stands at the entrance to hell while Virtutes amply clothed and holding a distaff ascends a steep path. For the one there is an easy *descensus Averno*; for the other an arduous ascent to the summit of the holy hill. It is not surprising that Virtus appears in variant versions of the theme with the martial attributes of the virgin goddess Athena.⁸

An example of particular interest is a drawing attributed to Raffaellino da Reggio (Fig. 3). In this Athena and Hermes urge Herakles to ascend a steep mountain upon the summit of which is a temple, presumably one of the goddess which at Athens stood upon the acropolis. Athena wears helmet and ægis while Hermes holds his caduceus. Behind these three figures stands Voluptas in frontal view and nude who with one hand holds a mass of her hair and with the other a nude child. The source of this group is some such work as the Hellenistic-Roman Aphrodite in Munich which represents the goddess as squeezing the water from her hair while at her side stands an Eros holding a sea shell.⁹ The Voluptas is, in other

⁷On the cushion as a symbol of luxury and pleasure see Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, p. 88.

⁸Panofsky *op. cit.* figs. 81, 82, 88 (the last with a Medusa head).

⁹Bulle, *Der Schoene Mensch im Altertum* pl. 153.



FIG. I. HELLENISTIC GROUP OF APHRODITE, PAN AND EROS
Athens, National Museum, from Delos

FIG. 4. THE HERAKLES
BY ALBRECHT DÜRER
Engraving, B. 73

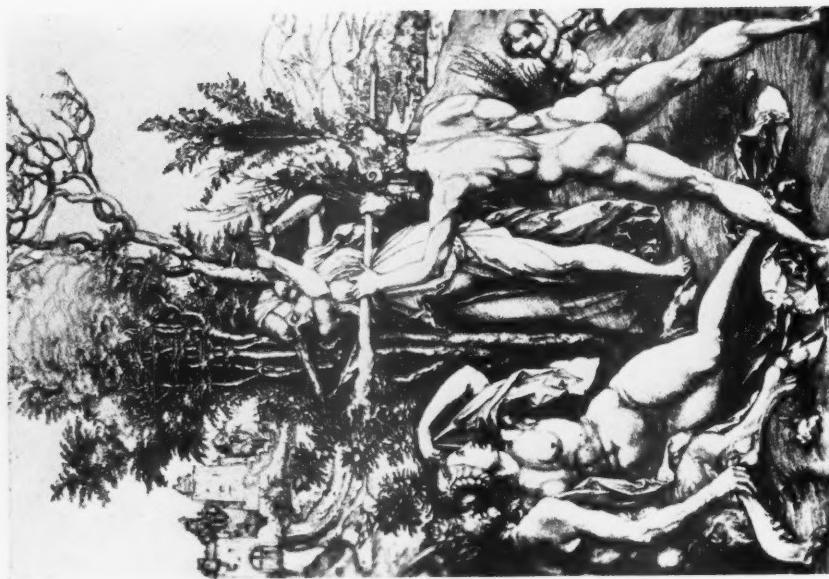


FIG. 3. THE CHOICE OF HERAKLES
ATTRIBUTED TO RAFAELINO DA REGGIO
Munich, Graphische Sammlung



FIG. 2. VIRTUS AND VOLUPTA
BY PETER VISCHER
Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett



words, a remote echo of the famous painting by Apelles of Aphrodite rising from the sea, a theme which soon found its way into free sculpture.¹⁰ Beyond this Voluptas is another nude who is crowned with a garland and holds a cup. He is Dionysus, a potent attendant of the goddess of desire. Their collaboration was realized by the author of *Revelation* in the passage already cited in which he speaks of the inhabitants of the earth as intoxicated "with the wine of her fornication," and of the woman holding "a golden cup full of the filthiness of her fornication." The Athenian vase painter Euphronius had painted on a wine jar nude *hetairai* long before the days of Praxiteles.¹¹

Another reminiscence of the Hellenistic Aphrodite is found in an engraving by Dürer (Fig. 4) where the intimacy of a nude female and Pan is that of the Delian group (Fig. 1). The two Pans should be closely compared. Their horns in particular are very similar.¹² Dürer depicts the dalliance of the goatish god with the "goddess of love" in a very effective triangular composition in which the opposition of front and rear view recalls Pergamene grouping.¹³ "Aphrodite" half reclines on the ground between the legs of Pan. In the Delian group Eros smilingly hovers over the pair while his counterpart in the engraving rushes from the scene holding a dove (?) which shares his excitement. This bird is Dürer's addition to an original by Mantegna.¹⁴ A child with a bird was a familiar Hellenistic-Roman motif. Dürer's putto is alarmed by the impending attack upon "Aphrodite" at the hands of Virtus who has stepped in between him and the loving pair. Just before the appearance of Virtus the putto may be assumed to have been near them. A nude male figure named Hercules by the artist holds a slender stick in horizontal position toward Virtus not so much to parry her blow as to stay it, as the position of his hands and the direction of his gaze indicate. The turning of his head toward the lovers and his open mouth means that he is warning if not also rebuking them. The relaxation of their bodies and their expressions show that they are unaware of their danger and rather annoyed by the interruption, to judge from the look they give Hercules. The jaw-bone which Pan holds is not raised for action as it is in another of Dürer's engravings.¹⁵ Furthermore the "Aphro-

¹⁰Reinach, *Répertoire de Peintures Grec. et Rom.*, p. 62, no. 9; *Répertoire de la Statuaire* I p. 333, no. 5; II p. 344, no. 3; V, 1 p. 150, no. 8.

¹¹Furtwaengler-Reichhold, *Griech. Vasenm.* pl. 63.

¹²The right horn of the Delian Pan is entirely antique (*B. C. H.* 1906 p. 612).

¹³*Altertümer von Pergamon* III, 2 pl. XI.

¹⁴Panofsky *op. cit.* p. 168 notes that the resemblance was pointed out long ago. He has also kindly called my attention to an allegory by Bronzino dated c. 1546 representing the amorous Aphrodite and Eros below whom is a dove (Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology* pl. 38 and p. 86).

¹⁵Panofsky *op. cit.* fig. 112.

dite" raises her mantle with one hand thus giving no indication of impending violence. Here Dürer has somehow repeated a classical detail from some such Aphrodite as that by Arcesilaus. Since the artist could hardly have known that Pan and Aphrodite shared an altar at Olympia and that their intimacy had thus some sort of pagan precedent, the nude female in his scene may have been for him an embodiment of *voluptas* rather than the goddess of sensual love. She would then correspond to other figures in the group, to Eros who has become a putto, to Athena who has lost her attributes and become a Virtus and finally to Hercules who has likewise lost his attributes. However the antique hybrid form of Pan and the artist's name for the engraving, *Hercules*, may justify the suspicion that Dürer had also other classical names for the remaining figures of the scene and among them that of Aphrodite for the amorous companion of the Greek goat-god.¹⁶

¹⁶Another example of the erotic Pan which owes more than its name to the antique is Marc-Anton's *Pan and Nymph* (Panofsky, fig. 106). Here the nymph lies before a cave. The scene should be compared with a Hellenistic relief (Schreiber, *Hellenistische Reliefbilder* I pl. XXIV).

A REDISCOVERED EARLY MASTERPIECE BY TITIAN

By E. TIETZE-CONRAT
New York City

In thumbing through some back numbers of the *Starye Gody* I found a reproduction of a *Flight into Egypt*, ascribed to Paris Bordone and represented as in the tsarist collection in Gatchina Castle (Fig. 1). I recognized at first glance the picture that Vasari and Ridolfi describe as an important work of the young Titian. A brief résumé in English of the accompanying text indicated that the picture had traditionally been ascribed to Titian and that Liphart took strong exception to this. It appeared to him beyond doubt an early work of Bordone's.¹ The only other reference to it with which I am acquainted is in Berenson's lists² where it is similarly recorded.

¹From a translated résumé in the Frick Art Reference Library of an article on the Italian paintings in Gatchina Castle by Liphart in *Starye Gody*, 1915, January-February, pl. op. p. 10. The picture is described in the résumé as follows: "A work in the manner of Giorgione, attributed to Titian, but evidently not by him; the awkward composition, with the figures placed in a row at equal distances from one another would be enough to prove that. We may identify this picture as the work of Paris Bordone who imitated Titian in his early period. The animals are beautifully painted, and this alone would point toward Paris Bordone who owned a large estate, was fond of hunting and would naturally have observed wild animals. This picture should be judged only from the animals, the landscape, and the garments, and not from the faces, which have been badly repainted." — As I am told, the painting is now on show in the Hermitage under the name of Titian.

²Berenson, Bernard, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*, 1932, pl. 431.

Vasari's description (VII, 429) runs: "After this work (the frescoes in the Scuola del Santo in Padua) he makes a large painting with life-size figures which today is in the Great Hall of Signore Andrea Loredano who lives in San Marcuola; in which painting is represented the Virgin going to Egypt, in the middle of a wooded area and villages very well done. Likewise he represented in the woods many animals painted from nature which are truly natural and almost alive."³ This quotation alone would be too general to identify the painting. However, we also have Ridolfi's description which, written a half century after Titian's death, is perfectly reliable because it contains details which are not in Vasari and which consequently indicate that Ridolfi studied the picture in the original. Only Ridolfi's description gives details that make the identification of the picture certain. He says: ". . . and for the same house he makes an oil painting of the Madonna with the Child in her arms who is traveling to Egypt, followed by Saint Joseph, with an angel guiding the beast of burden; and through the leafy landscape many animals pass, making obeisance to their Lord; and there is also a very naturalistic background (curtain) of trees and in the distance a soldier and shepherds."⁴

The uninterrupted length of Ridolfi's description reflects the rich flow of the composition. The travelers pass through the woods, but the woods is not a frame around the holy personages, but one which was already there and will be there forever. Its creatures interrupt their natural ways only for the moment that the travelers pass before them. The fox comes near, the sheep look up, the bull turns its head. The large bird sits on a low perch — the fox could reach him with one leap; but when the Christ-child passes there is peace everywhere. In this woods is the unspoiled paradise of Dürer's woodcut of Adam and Eve (B. 17). But it is not Dürer's woods; not a "German woods." It is the "Italian" woods — trees, lighting, sky, clouds, farmstead and distant mountains. It is Titian's mountain of the Marmarole of Cadore — seen from S. Rocco di S. Alipio —

³Vasari-Sansoni, VII, p. 429: "Dopo la quale opera fece un quadro grande di figure simile al vivo che oggi è nella sala di messer Andrea Loredano che sta da San Marcuola; nel qual quadro è dipinta la Nostra Donna che va in Egitto, in mezzo a una gran boscaglia e certi paesi molto ben fatti; (per avere dato Tiziano molti mesi opera a fare simile cose, e tenuto per ciò in casa alcuni Tedeschi, eccellenti pittori di paesi e verzure). Similmente nel bosco di detto quadro fece molti animali i quali ritrasse dal vivo, e sono veramente naturali e quasi vivi."

⁴Ridolfi, Carlo, *Le maraviglie dell'arte*, Detlev Freiherr von Hadeln, Berlin, 1914, I, p. 155: ". . . e per la medesima Casa (casa Calergi, hor Grimani, à Sant'Ermacora) fece un quadro à oglio di nostra Donna col figlio in seno, che passa nell'Egitto, seguita da San Giuseppe, un Angelo guida il giumento, e per le e herbe passeggianno molti animali corteggiando il loro Signore, e vi è una cortina d'alberi molto naturale e lontano un Soldato e Pastori." (Hadeln in his footnote 5 to this passage indicates that the house in question is the Palazzo Vendramin-Calergi, which belonged in Vasari's time to Andrea Loredan and in Ridolfi's to the Grimani family. Ermacora is called Marcuola in Venetian dialect).

to which the view in his *Presentation of the Virgin* (Venice, Academy) also leads us.

A gap in the work of Titian's youth is filled. Our eyes look with wonder and newly-awakened admiration at this work, but with an admiration which is in no way mixed with surprise. True, everything here is new; no old graphic reproduction has prepared us for the impression; no painted copy has told us of the composition. Nevertheless the picture with all its details might have been expected. Landscape drawings in the Uffizi show the "cortina d'alberi" on the left side and the distant view on the right. We knew that they belonged to the school of Titian, and more, anticipated that a conception of the master himself lay behind them. The group of shepherds in the middle distance finds a parallel in the Venus of Pardo of the Louvre; a drawing similar to that of the two boys in the Albertina may have prepared the way for this conception. That the Venus of Pardo was begun in Titian's early period has often been said. With this newly-found picture from Gatchina this theory is corroborated. With respect to the landscape, it looks like a religious counterpart to the Pardo Venus.⁵

The main group, too, whose naive composition was the subject of a withering denunciation by Liphart, has parallels. The Madonna and Child brings to mind the tender composition in the Mellon Collection attributed to Giovanni Bellini or Carpaccio. The single-file arrangement of the main group parallel to the picture plane also recalls a Jacopo Bellini sketch.⁶ Or is this the influence of Dürer's woodcut from the *Life of Mary*? Perhaps both. With respect to this very woodcut we have noted in our Dürer Catalogue⁷ a contact with the Venetian tradition through Jacopo Bellini's Sketchbook. Still another explanation is found in a natural treatment derived from the theme itself which, in this classic period, chooses the simplest balance. A movement of travelers who are proceeding at a slow pace is represented from left to right. The placing of one figure after another establishes the rhythm most clearly. Since the forward movement receives an especial accent from the long back line of the donkey, the Angel's head is turned as a retarding factor.

⁵Tietze, Hans, *Tizian*, Vienna, 1936, p. 157, called the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* in Madrid the Christian counterpart of the Pardo Venus. Froehlich-Bum in her review of his monograph on Titian in the *Art Bulletin*, December, 1938, criticizing the attribution of the Madrid painting to Titian, assigns it to a copyist. I wish to note here: 1. that Hans Tietze himself, v. II, p. 296, speaks of the picture as either an original or an excellent copy. 2. that Froehlich-Bum bases her criticism on the impression of the reproduction which does not do justice to the original—for which none is sorrier than the author and his wife. Also in other cases she delivers pontifical judgments without having seen the original.

⁶Golubew, *Les Dessins de Jacopo Bellini*, I, pl. XXXIV.

⁷Hans Tietze and E. Tietze-Conrat, *Der Junge Duerer*, p. 81.



TRISTÁN: THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT
Hermitage, Moscow



TITIAN: THE SACRIFICE OF ABRAHAM
Woodcut, c. 1515

The Child is safe in the arms of the Mother. It suffers nothing from the hardships of the journey. However, in spite of the relationship to Bellini, what freedom, what naturalness in the composition! His holiness is here that of the Son of Man rather than of the Son of God. His little foot sticks out in a most human way. It bounces to the rhythm of the donkey's step while the Child sleeps. Joseph, on foot, has tucked up his mantle so far that a quite bombastic billowing has resulted. We find his equivalent in the woodcuts of the *Triumph of Faith* and the *Sacrifice of Abraham* (Fig. 2). A sweet invention is the trim angel-page. When the Son of God is a mere human child the angels must adapt themselves to every-day life.

All these connections aid in the dating, which in a wider sense has already been advanced by Vasari. He speaks of our picture immediately after mentioning the frescoes in Padua (1510) and he concludes in the same sentence with a reason for the excellent execution of the landscape: Titian busied himself for months at a time with studies after nature and therefore had well-known German landscape painters in his house. Elsewhere⁸ we have thoroughly discussed this passage of Vasari's and we found its exemplification in the woodcut of the *Sacrifice of Abraham*, between which and the figures of our picture we found the closest stylistic relationship. The *Sacrifice of Abraham*, for external evidence, has to be dated shortly before 1516. Also in the case of our picture we must go back to the first half of the second decade, when, following Giorgione's death, Titian's social position was sharply on the rise, reaching its peak at the time of the *Assunta*. Vasari's passage thus acquires a broader significance; the aid of the German artists is no longer restricted to the supply of workshop material, woodcuts and drawings which were used for the four great blocks of the *Sacrifice of Abraham*. The German artists prompted Titian to make studies after nature, and called his attention to Dürer's penetrating grasp of landscape, and so he was inspired to achieve a new and wonderful type of picture in comparison with which the woodcut becomes merely a by-product. In fact, with this picture a new chapter in Italian art begins: landscape painting. When one pauses in admiration before a detail in one of the master's works, for example, before a representation of his native mountains in the *Presentation* (cf. Tietze, *Tizian II*, p. 112); when the contemporaries and followers of Titian speak of certain paintings as landscapes (*paesaggio*) as, for example, the *Martyrdom of St. Peter*, thereby characterizing the unity of a human drama with that of nature, it can only

⁸*Tizian-Studien, Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen*, Wien, N. S. X, 1936, p. 168.

signify the amazement at what Titian could accomplish within such narrow boundaries. In all the pictures we previously knew of Titian's he was a landscape artist only in so far as he showed that he could have painted landscapes had he wanted to. But with this new-found painting Titian, as a landscape painter, comes to be seen in a new light. All that isolated drawings promised, that graphic art reflected, is here realized in painting itself. Here the landscape is not just a foil for the figures, not just a resonating factor between them, but their controller. As we spoke above in analyzing the figure composition of peace everywhere in the presence of the Christchild, so, in considering the general impression of the picture, we say that the peace of the landscape enfolds everything — including the Christchild.

The young Titian in this picture, as in the *Assunta*, laid down a basis for other builders. The larger perspective which this gives requires certain reorientations: the outside place of Jacopo Bassano becomes a point of departure. For here, as in other important periods of his development, he stems from Titian. Titian, in his picture, with a classical sense of balance, assigns a part in the composition even to the animals. In the case of his follower, Jacopo Bassano, this motive, barely touched by Titian, is enormously developed in a Baroque manner.

This new point of view, for which we have this picture to thank, naturally somewhat reorients our view of Titian's earlier work as well as the work of his followers. If Vasari explains this work as a product of German influence, if we speak of the new feeling for nature in it, of the new immittance in the universe, of a new devotion and surrender to the direct apprehension of nature — we have characterized the dividing point between Titian and the Quattrocento. It is the dividing point, too, between Titian and Giorgione. On the other hand this picture stakes out the ground that he took over from Giorgione. In the sense that it is a landscape at all, it relates to Giorgione, just as its entirely new conception separates it from Giorgione. Giorgione was a landscape artist, but of the fifteenth century. The wonders of the earth: brook and flowers, waterfall and clouds, stone and column fragment — all is observable in small dimension, as on a table that one looks at from above and sees in detail close at hand. And a departing storm is the musical key which governs the mood of the whole.

In Titian's picture, too, we have an abundance of different voices. But the instrumentation has become powerful. It is no more the close inspection of a cabinet piece, but the kinæsthetic experience resulting from a

large format. It is no more the reflection in a small mirror which will not allow us to forget that we are merely observers. It is simply there. No passing weather phenomenon indicates the mood, but something which is not temporary and passing: the rustling and breath of nature, ever present and independent of an observer. When I said above that a gap in Titian's youth is filled through the discovery of this picture, I did not say enough. Better had I said that the chain was torn because an important link was lost; now the chain is complete.⁹

⁹In the January issue of *Art in America*, p. 5, Suida identifies the painting described as in the house of Andrea Loredan with a painting formerly in the Gallery of King Charles I of England and now in a private collection. Supplementing Vasari's description by Ridolfi's, as I did above, Suida would have avoided this mistake which led him to audacious conclusions with regard to Titian's whole artistic development.

BENJAMIN TROTT, AN EARLY AMERICAN MINIATURIST

By FREDERIC FAIRCHILD SHERMAN

It is not definitely known where or when Benjamin Trott was born, but various facts concerning him which are amply verified point to the probability that he was born about 1770 in Massachusetts. He commenced painting professionally, both oil portraits and miniatures, perhaps as early as 1791. Two years later he was practicing his art successfully in New York and in 1805 he visited the west, travelling generally on horseback with the implements of his art in his saddle-bags. Returning in 1806, he settled in Philadelphia, in 1808 sharing a house with Thomas Sully and again in 1810 after Sully's return from abroad. In 1812 he exhibited several miniatures at the Pennsylvania Academy. He visited Charleston, S. C., in 1819 and at about this date married a woman of unknown origin from whom he secured a divorce in New Jersey where for several years he resided in obscurity in the city of Newark. Thence he proceeded to New York and finally in 1833 to Boston. During the yellow fever epidemic which afflicted Philadelphia in 1798, he was, with David Edwin the engraver, a neighbor of Gilbert Stuart near the Falls of the Schuylkill. About two years earlier, he had gone to Albany with Elkanah Tisdale, another miniaturist, where they shared a room and practiced their art. He is listed in the New York directory of 1798 as a miniature painter living at No. 1 Wall Street. In Philadelphia, from 1806 to 1807, he lived at 231 Mulberry Street, moving in 1807 to Sixth and Minor Streets, and

in 1809-1810 he was with Thomas Sully in Sansom Street. In 1813 he moved again, this time to 7 Little George Street where he remained until 1819 when he visited Charleston, S. C. In the New York directory of 1829-1830 he is listed as "B. Trott, portrait and miniature painter, 15 Pine (Street). Upstairs." and in 1832-1833 he lived at 40 Arcade, in that city. He then went on to Boston where in 1833 he is listed in the city directory as "Benj. Trott, miniature painter, 3 Scollay Building." In 1840 he appears in Baltimore, Md., listed in the city directory as "B. Trott, portrait and miniature painter, Office cor. St. Paul and Fayette Sts."

Several characteristics enable one to easily identify a work from Trott's hand. In the first place, there is his customary habit of employing the ivory itself as a part of the color scheme of his miniatures. Secondly, in practically all of his portraits of men (and they comprise the bulk of his product) the hair is loosely brushed, and the necks are almost invariably elongated. Furthermore, the forehead is generally emphasized. Indeed, his miniatures are far more easily distinguished from those of his contemporaries than are similar works by Dunkerly from Copley's, or early James Peale's from those of his elder brother, Charles Willson. Trott's title to a high position among American miniaturists is the result of an outstanding ability to delineate his sitter with economy of effort, and this being a vital factor in portraiture, it unquestionably explains Gilbert Stuart's preference for Trott's copies in miniature of his portraits in oils. Whatever of indecisiveness one encounters in the painting of Trott's miniatures, the inherent values embodied in them are almost invariably sufficient to entitle them to an enviable position among the ivories of his contemporaries. The miniature exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum in 1927 acquainted the public with but eighteen of his works. I am glad to be able to extend this to fifty-seven examples, listed herewith.

- 1 David Humphries. Oval ivory, $2\frac{7}{8}$ " H., $2\frac{1}{2}$ " W. *Erskine Hewitt Collection, 1938*
- 2 William King. Oval ivory, $3\frac{1}{4}$ " H. *Erskine Hewitt Collection, 1938*
- 3 Benjamin Chew Wilcocks, 1776-1845. Rectangular ivory, $3\frac{5}{8}$ " H., $2\frac{3}{4}$ " W. *Erskine Hewitt Collection, 1938. Metropolitan Museum Exhibition, 1927*
- 4 William Lyman, 1753-1811. Oval ivory, $2\frac{5}{8}$ " H., $2\frac{1}{8}$ " W. Attributed to Trott. *Erskine Hewitt Collection, 1938*
- 5 Dr. Peregrine Wroth, 1786-1879. Oval ivory, $2\frac{3}{4}$ " H., $2\frac{1}{4}$ " W. Inscription in back of frame: "Peregrine Wroth Painted by Mr. Trott Sansom — Philadelphia Anno Domini 1806. Dr. Peregrine Wroth of Chestertown, Maryland."
- 6 Mr. Ashurst. Oval ivory, about $2\frac{3}{8}$ " H., 2" W. Attributed to Trott by the writer. *Henry Walters Collection, 1924*
- 7 John Green, 1735-1796. *Formerly Lucy Wharton Drexel Collection*

- 8 James Ross, 1762-1847. *Formerly Lucy Wharton Drexel Collection*
- 9 George Clymer. Rectangular ivory, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ " H., $2\frac{7}{8}$ " W. Engraved by J. B. Longacre.
- 10 John Woods Poinier. Painted 1823. Oval Ivory. *Rhode Island School of Design*
Reproduced in Museum Bulletin for October, 1915
- 11 John Jordan. Oval ivory, 3" H., $2\frac{1}{2}$ " W. Unsigned. *The Cincinnati Museum of Art*
- 12 Mrs. Fox. Oval ivory. *Reproduced "Antiques", August, 1931*
- 13 Alexander James Dallas. Oval ivory. *Mrs. Campbell Madeira Collection*
Reproduced "Antiques", August, 1931
- 14 James Williams. Oval ivory. *Reproduced Wharton¹, page 168*
- 15 Unidentified Gentleman. Oval ivory, $2\frac{7}{8}$ " H., $2\frac{5}{8}$ " W. Attributed by the writer.
Mr. and Mrs. Clarke Walling Collection
- 16 Miss Sally Waln (?). Painted 1820 (?). Rectangular ivory, $3\frac{1}{16}$ " H., $2\frac{1}{2}$ " W. *Mrs. Campbell Madeira Collection*
Metropolitan Museum Exhibition, 1927
- 17 Charles Wilkins. Painted 1824 (?). Oval ivory, $2\frac{1}{2}$ " H., $2\frac{1}{16}$ " W.
Formerly Herbert Du Puy Collection. Listed in Bolton²
Metropolitan Museum Exhibition, 1927
- 18 John Gadsby. Oval ivory, $2\frac{1}{2}$ " H., 2" W. *The Ehrich Galleries, New York, 1934*
- 19 Unidentified Gentleman. Oval ivory, 3" H. *American Art Association Sale, April, 1934*
- 20 Unidentified Young Man. Oval ivory. *Mrs. Dorothy Hamlen Collection*
Reproduced "Antiques", August, 1931
- 21 Unidentified Gentleman. Oval ivory. *Mrs. T. E. Jansen Collection*
Reproduced "Antiques", August, 1931
- 22 Young Man of the Beidermann Family. Oval ivory. *Albert Rosenthal Collection*
Reproduced "Antiques", August, 1931
- 23 James Abercrombie, D. D. *Engraved by David Edwin*
- 24 Lewis Adams. Painted 1828. Oval ivory, $2\frac{3}{8}$ " H., $1\frac{7}{8}$ " W. Inscribed on back: "Lewis Adams Septemr. 1828 by B. Trott." *Herbert L. Pratt Collection*
Metropolitan Museum Exhibition, 1927
- 25 Joseph Anthony, 1738-1798. Oval ivory, $2\frac{7}{8}$ " H., $2\frac{3}{8}$ " W.
Herbert L. Pratt Collection. Metropolitan Museum Exhibition, 1927
- 26 Mr. Aitken. 3" H., $2\frac{1}{4}$ " W. *Formerly The Ehrich Galleries*
- 27 Nicholas Biddle. Rectangular ivory, $3\frac{5}{8}$ " H., $2\frac{3}{4}$ " W. Property of Edward Biddle
Metropolitan Museum Exhibition, 1927. Listed Bolton, 1921
Reproduced Wehle³, plate 25
- 28 Mrs. Blair. *Exhibited Newport, R. I., 1890. Listed Bolton, 1921*
- 29 Solomon Etting. *The Pennsylvania Academy. Listed Bolton, 1921*
- 30 Colonel James Gibson *Engraved by Goodman & Piggott. Listed Bolton, 1921*
- 31 Mrs. Walter Livingston. 3" H., $2\frac{1}{4}$ " W. *Formerly The Ehrich Galleries*
- 32 Cornelius Lowe. *Listed Bolton, 1921*
- 33 Mrs. Alexander Macomb. Painted 1823. Oval ivory, $3\frac{3}{8}$ " H., $2\frac{3}{4}$ " W.
The New York Historical Society. Listed Bolton, 1921
Metropolitan Museum Exhibition, 1927. Reproduced Wehle, plate 26

¹A. H. Wharton, *Heirlooms in Miniatures*, Philadelphia, 1898.

²T. Bolton, *Early American Portrait Painters*, New York, 1920.

³H. B. Wehle, *American Miniatures 1730-1850*, New York, 1927.

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| 34 | Robert Morris. | Herbert L. Pratt Collection. Listed Bolton, 1921 |
| 35 | Mrs. Elizabeth Powel. | Owned in Newport, Rhode Island, in 1884
Listed Bolton, 1921 |
| 36 | James Richards | Listed Bolton, 1921 |
| 37 | Lewis Sanders. | Listed Bolton, 1921 |
| 38 | Hon. William Wilkins. | Listed Bolton, 1921 |
| 39 | James Williams. | Property of Miss A. Cooper. Listed Bolton, 1921 |
| 40 | George Washington. Oval ivory, about $2\frac{3}{4}$ " H., $2\frac{3}{8}$ " W.
<i>Examined at an Antique Dealer's near Greenfield, Mass., September, 1934</i> | |
| 41 | Lady in a Black Lace Veil. | Exhibited at the Pennsylvania Academy
Listed Bolton, 1921 |
| 42 | William Furman. Oval ivory, $2\frac{15}{16}$ " H., $2\frac{5}{16}$ " W.
<i>Present owner unknown
Examined several years ago. Attributed by the writer</i> | |
| 43 | Mrs. Medcef Eden (Rebecca Mason). Oval on rectangular ivory, $3\frac{1}{4}$ " H.
$2\frac{7}{8}$ " W. <i>Property of Miss Ethel Yates. Metropolitan Museum Exhibition, 1927
Carolina Art Association Exhibition, 1936</i> | |
| 44 | Mrs. Stephen Guillet (Elizabeth Maltbie Eden). Oval on rectangular ivory,
$3\frac{1}{4}$ " H., $2\frac{5}{8}$ " W. | <i>Property of Miss Ethel Yates</i> |
| 45 | Abner LeGrand. Oval ivory. | <i>Property, 1931, of Frank LeGrand Gilliss
Reproduced "Antiques", August, 1931</i> |
| 46 | Unidentified Young Man. Oval ivory. | <i>Mrs. Dorothy Hamlen Collection
Reproduced "Antiques", August, 1931</i> |
| 47 | Charles Floyd. $2\frac{9}{16}$ " H., 2" W. | <i>Mrs. Dorothy Hamlen Collection
Metropolitan Museum Exhibition, 1927</i> |
| 48 | Edward Johnson Coale, 1776-1832. 3" H., $2\frac{1}{4}$ " W. | <i>Mrs. Francis T. Redwood
Metropolitan Museum Exhibition, 1927</i> |
| 49 | Mrs. James Greenleaf. Oval ivory, $2\frac{7}{8}$ " H., $2\frac{5}{16}$ " W. After a portrait by
Gilbert Stuart. | <i>Property of Mrs. Nicholas Luquer
Metropolitan Museum Exhibition, 1927. Reproduced Wehle, plate 26</i> |
| 50 | Edward Stow. Painted about 1795. Oval ivory, $2\frac{1}{8}$ " H., $1\frac{9}{16}$ " W.
<i>Mrs. John Hill Morgan Collection. Metropolitan Museum Exhibition, 1927</i> | |
| 51 | Judge John Jones Milligan. Painted about 1810. $2\frac{5}{8}$ " H., $2\frac{3}{16}$ " W.
Attributed by Harry B. Wehle. | <i>Metropolitan Museum Exhibition, 1927</i> |
| 52 | Mrs. John Jones Milligan. Painted about 1810. $2\frac{1}{2}$ " H., $2\frac{3}{16}$ " W.
Attributed by Harry B. Wehle. | <i>Metropolitan Museum Exhibition, 1927</i> |
| 53 | Thaddeus Beecher. Oval ivory. Attributed by the writer. | <i>New Haven Colony Historical Society</i> |
| 54 | Samuel Woodworth. Oval ivory, $2\frac{5}{8}$ " H., $2\frac{1}{8}$ " W. | <i>Mrs. Miles White Collection
Metropolitan Museum Exhibition, 1927</i> |
| 55 | Gen. Anne-Louis de Toussard, 1749-1821. Oval ivory, $3\frac{5}{8}$ " H., $2\frac{3}{4}$ " W.
<i>Mrs. D. J. McCarthy Collection. Metropolitan Museum Exhibition, 1927</i> | |
| 56 | Unidentified Gentleman. Oval ivory, $2\frac{5}{16}$ " H., $1\frac{7}{8}$ " W.
<i>Estate of Gilbert S. Parker. Metropolitan Museum Exhibition, 1927</i> | |
| 57 | George Washington. Probably copy of Gilbert Stuart portrait.
<i>Engraved by J. B. Longacre. Listed Bolton, 1921</i> | |



Top row, left to right: William Furman, John Jordan, Mrs. Stephen Guillet, Mr. Ashurst, Unidentified Gentleman
Bottom row, left to right: George Clymer (from the engraving by Longacre), Mrs. Medef Eden, Miss Sally Waln, Benjamin Chew Wilcox

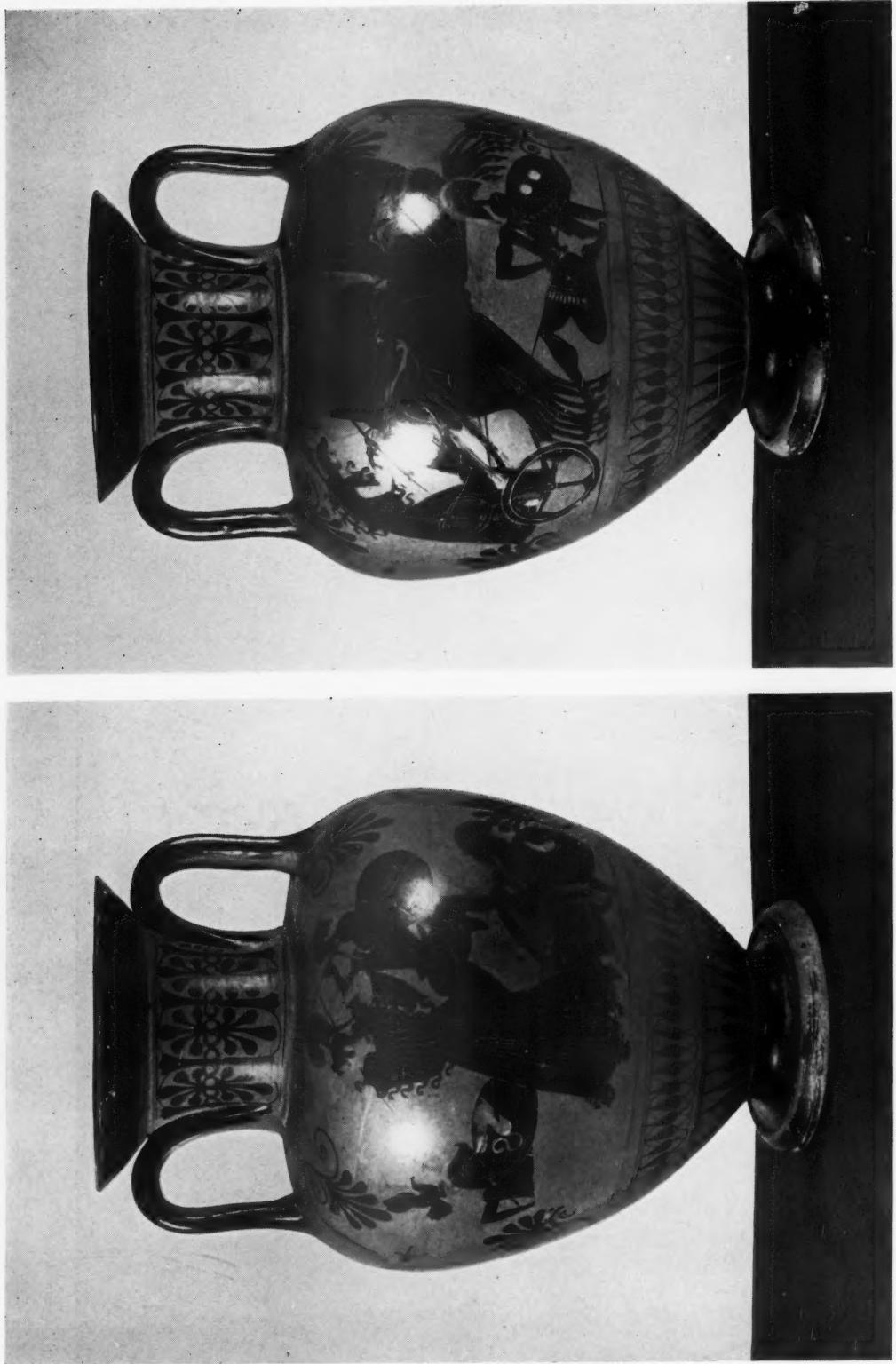


FIG. 1. ATTIC BLACK-FIGURED AMPHORA: ATHENA FIGHTING GIANTS
Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore

FIG. 2. ATTIC BLACK-FIGURED AMPHORA: ATHENA AND
HERAKLES FIGHTING GIANT
Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore

ATHENA IN BATTLE

BY DOROTHY KENT HILL
Baltimore, Maryland

Athena, the patron goddess of Athens, habitually wore full armor and led a belligerent existence. An amphora made in her city and decorated in the black-figured technique in the late sixth century B. C. shows how her military achievements caught the fancy of an artist who was not an historian and not a very intelligent draughtsman but who had a sense of the dramatic and of the decorative and could make good use of existent models.¹

On one side of the vase the goddess advances to the left, about to thrust a spear into a warrior at her feet, while behind her a male ally deals similarly with another of the fallen (Fig. 1). Movement swells through the scene, expressing itself in the furious stride of the victorious warrior, the great moving bulk of Athena, and the contortion of one defeated combatant, who falls on his bent right leg and turns his head back over his shoulder.

The scene represents part of the mighty conflict between the gods and the rebellious giants, ancestors of the human race. The gods used them as allies in their war against the Titans, only to be forced to turn upon them. Among the giants, Athena's personal victim was Enkelados. She was often represented smiting him down, and never more frequently than during the period in which this vase was made, the age of Peisistratos and his sons, tyrants. One sculptural representation of the period has been recognized and discussed in this journal: a statue of Athena brandishing her spear and wearing a garment picturesquely decorated with embroidered representations of the battle actually in progress.² Better known is the pedimental sculpture from a temple, probably ruined even in Greek times, on the Athenian Acropolis. From this portion six figures remain, and among these are Athena in violent movement, this time to the right, and three warriors, one of whom has fallen to sitting position with his legs before him and knees somewhat bent, while the others lie face down, each with one leg outstretched, one bent.³ The resemblance to the scene on our vase is strik-

¹Walters Art Gallery No. 48.22. Formerly Massarenti Collection. Edouard Van Esbroeck and others, *Catalogue du Musée au Palais Accoramboni II*, (Rome, 1897), 36, No. 184. Height, 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. ('427 m.). Repaired. Formerly coated with gesso to conceal cracks and repainted even over extant portions. Now restored in scene: upper part of Herakles and heads of horses. Other missing portions within scenes blocked in with plain color. Portions of patterns at base of neck, under scenes and under handles still repainted over gesso.

²G. Elderkin, *Art in America*, XXVII (1940), pp. 159-161.

³Acropolis Museum, Nos. 631 and others. H. Schrader, *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis* (Frankfurt, 1939), Pls. 185 ff; *Ath. Mitt.* XXII (1897), 59 ff; H. Payne and G. Young, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*, (London, 1936), 52 ff, Pls. 36 ff; G. Dickens, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, I, (Cambridge, 1912), 169 ff.

ing. Even though considerable portions of the sculpture have had to be restored⁴ so that the reconstruction of no figure is altogether certain, and even though the composition of the whole is unknown, the poses of the figures — the stride of Athena, the bent legs of the fallen warriors, the turned head — are almost proof of a related origin. The artist of the vase must have seen the pediment which shone resplendent on the front of a great temple on a hill in the center of his little city; and if he did not draw from it directly, he at least copied another vase painter who used it as his inspiration. The pediment has been dated between 530 and 510 B. C. on the basis of comparison of the sculpture with other sculpture and with vases of the red-figured style⁵ and of the building which they adorned with other temples. The date most recently suggested, this time by Payne, is not later than the year 520.⁶ Our vase, on the evidence of its style, was made during the following decade, in which also was made a smaller, poorer, marble version of the group.⁷

But the fact that Athena faces in the opposite direction shows us that we have not a perfect copy of the old pediment, and, truly, another source of inspiration to our artist is apparent in the series of Panathenaic amphoras, the vases given as prizes in the game festival of Athens. The almost inevitable scene of the obverse of these vases is Athena striding to the left, wearing helmet and ægis, her left arm holding a round shield which conceals arm and shoulder; usually she is between two pillars which support cocks. (See an example in *ART IN AMERICA*, vol. XXVIII, p. 158, fig. 2.) The scene presented problems insoluble to the artists of the archaic period, who knew how to draw a body only by showing the legs and head in profile, the torso in full face. In order to show the full power of the brandishing arm, they always drew it above the rear foot and behind the head, thereby turning the back of the torso to the audience. The left shoulder and arm were conveniently concealed behind the shield. It is apparent that our artist was thinking of one of these figures when he drew an Athena in the same position with nearly the same costume. He decided, however,

⁴The skirt of Athena, for example, is largely restored, possibly with the help of such vase paintings as ours. The position of her left hand is problematical. The torso of the seated warrior is largely restored; see the shaded photograph, Schrader, *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerken*, 349, fig. 410.

⁵E. Langlotz, *Zur Zeitbestimmung der strengroßfigurigen Vasenmalerei und der gleichzeitigen Plastik*, (Leipzig, 1920), 34, 117.

⁶Payne, *op. cit.*, 54.

⁷Acropolis Museum, Nos. 293 and others. Dickens, *op. cit.*, 107 f; Schrader, *Archaische Marmor-Skulpturen im Akropolis Museum zu Athen* (Österreichisches archaeologisches Institut) (1909), 60f; Payne, *op. cit.*, Pl. 122. See also the marble reliefs, Acropolis Museum, nos. 120, 121, Schrader, *Archaischen Marmor-Bildwerken*, 302 f, no. 423, fig. 349 a and Pl. 174; *ibid.*, 305 f, no. 425, fig. 350; Payne, *op. cit.*, Pl. 126.

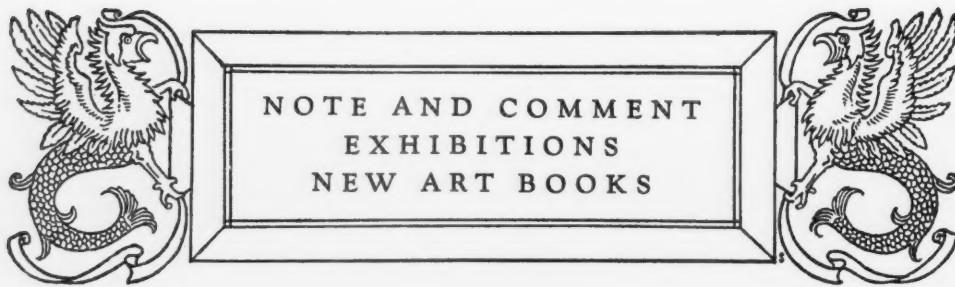
to omit the shield, and in so doing revealed his misunderstanding of the Panathenaic theme. He interpreted the torso as a front view, and drew the arm which might have held the shield as a right arm. His goddess, therefore, has two right arms, no left.

The other side of the vase shows another confused but interesting representation from the careers of Athena, her friends and her enemies (Fig. 2). Here the goddess stands in a chariot, driving four dashing horses, grasping the reins and leaning forward. Beside her stands Herakles, the hero (unmistakable, although only his legs and the lower part of the lion skin remain in the original) with one foot in the chariot, the other forward as he prepares to leap out. Under the horses' hoofs is a fallen warrior very similar to one on the other side of the vase, with one leg outstretched, one bent under him and his head turned over his shoulder; he bears helmet, spear and shield.

Plainly this is a battle scene, and it is easily to be interpreted from Greek mythology. Herakles took part in the great war, coming to help the gods against the giants.⁸ Here he is fighting in the best Greek tradition, leaping from a swiftly moving chariot to fight on foot, while the goddess acts as his charioteer. But artistically the scene is dependent on other, commoner, vase types. One of the most frequently repeated black-figured scenes shows the apotheosis of Herakles, his leaving in a chariot for Olympus to join the immortals after his strenuous life among men; usually a few of the gods, always including Athena and Iolaos, the friend who has helped him through the perils of this world, are present to cheer his departure. Not quite as commonly Herakles and Athena drive to Olympus together while Iolaos runs before their chariot.⁹ But our artist has transformed the scene further. He has exchanged the standing Iolaos for a fallen warrior, a giant enemy, reminiscent of those on the opposite side of the vase, and by merely varying the position of Herakles within the chariot remade the whole into a battle scene, in subject a fit companion for the more ambitious scene of the other side, which reminds us of the pediment of the lost temple and the Panathenaic amphoras.

⁸Herakles fights on the side of the gods on the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi, made during the same period.

⁹Compare *Bulletin of the Rhode Island School of Design*, XXVII (1939), 28, fig. 9. For discussion of such scenes see F. Dürbach, in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, III, I, 107, 109; Wrede, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLI (1916), 359 ff. See also the battle scene with other divine figures in the chariot on the reverse of the pseudo-Panathenaic amphora in the British Museum, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, III H e, Pl. 5, 1 b and 1 a. In both art and literature the war between the gods and giants and that between the gods and Titans are confused. One story is a poetic repetition of the other. The war against the Titans may actually be meant on our vase.



THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

By general admission the National Gallery has made a marvellous start. For the birth of this great Gallery has been, in reality, almost miraculous. A Palace of Pleasure has suddenly appeared on the banks of the Potomac, fully garbed, and equipped to the last detail, a prodigy amongst the great galleries of the world. Never before has a National Gallery started its career in a building more suitable for the display of pictures, with a more varied collection of works of all the chief schools of painting, and, we may add, with a catalogue containing so much relevant information.

There have been adverse criticisms of the new building. But let the fundamentalists of architecture (of which I regard myself as one) and those modernists who are not fundamentalists, cease to cavil, and generously admit that the rooms of this home of the Fine Arts are admirably suited to their specific purpose and that the building as a whole harmonizes in style with the historic edifices of the beautiful city that it adorns.

Not only are the galleries well-lighted and well-proportioned, they have — a most important feature — appropriate wall-coverings for each school of painting. The tasteless experiments, due to bad advice, that were made in "the twenties" in the British National Gallery are not repeated here. Like so many products of that age, these inept integuments have departed long ago to the limbo of unhappy, far-off things.

There are, of course, as there must be in any new Gallery, a few pictures that, because of their lack of quality, are not worthy of their place. In a few cases, too, there are paintings, not deficient in quality, but that do not merit the high attributions that have been bestowed on them by the art advisers of their previous owners. Other pictures, such as the large *Annunciation* of Masolino, have very unsuitable frames. But when all has been said that can be said in the way of criticism, there remains the substantial fact that this country owes an immense debt of gratitude to two great benefactors, Andrew Mellon and Samuel H. Kress, as well as to Mr. Joseph E. Widener, whose fine collection is destined for the National Gallery. And not only to these is the nation indebted for this new fountain of pleasure; it also owes much to the trustees of the Mellon and Kress Collections, to the trustees of the National Gallery, to its architects, to its directors, and to the curator of paintings, for making it the great national possession that it undoubtedly is.

All this having been gratefully acknowledged, the true friends of this institution will begin to consider what it lacks, and what steps must be taken to make of it a National Gallery worthy in every way of its place in the capital city of so great a nation.

Its most obvious need, of course, is more masterpieces, more supreme works by the great artists of the principal schools of painting. For it is such works that justly make the reputation of a public gallery, and, what is more important, add greatly to its value as an instrument of education by setting before the art student and the connois-



Giorgione: THE ALLEMAGNE NATIVITY
Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington



ZURBARAN: THE LEGEND OF THE BELL. DETAIL
Cincinnati Art Museum



WINSLOW HOMER: HAYMAKING
Collection of Mrs. Frederic Fairchild Sherman, Westport, Connecticut

seur a standard of quality. The Widener pictures, when they come to the capital, will help to remedy some deficiencies. For in this collection, to mention but one picture, there is such a masterpiece as Giovanni Bellini's *The Feast of the Gods*. The fact that, when this painting arrives, the best picture in the National Gallery will be one which was the handiwork of a man of eighty-four, who, at that age, was in the van of the great movements of his time, ought not, all things considered, to startle Washington.

The schools of Florence and Siena, the Umbrian school, and the early school of Venice are, on the whole, well-represented in the National Gallery, as is also the Dutch school. The schools of painting that are at present inadequately represented are those of France, Spain, Great Britain, America, Germany, and the later school of Venice. Of the supreme artists of the golden age of painting, Titian, Tintoretto and Paul Veronese, there are, it is true, authentic examples, but no masterpiece. There is, too, no work by Murillo, no great religious painting by this baroque artist, who, for more than two centuries, was regarded as second only to Raphael, in the role of the world's great masters.¹ The great portrait painters of the British school are well represented. But we would like to see more fine examples of that essentially modern art of landscape in which British painters were pioneers — more landscapes by such artists as Gainsborough, Turner, Bonington, and, above all, John Constable, whose influence on European painting it is difficult to overestimate.

In the years that are coming, America will have, perhaps, greater opportunities to buy paintings of the highest quality than any country has ever had before. These opportunities will only be comparable to those that were vouchsafed to English collectors in the years that immediately followed the Napoleonic wars. What this country needs, therefore, today is a few public-spirited men who will follow in the footsteps of Andrew Mellon and Samuel H. Kress, and who will see to it that the National Collection shall acquire, as far as is possible, works of those great masters who are not adequately represented in it.

We cannot do more here than briefly allude to the important collection of sculpture the Gallery owns. The Florentine school of the quattrocento is especially well represented. And this is as it should be. For in Tuscany, at the time of the Renaissance, sculpture was the dominant art. Perhaps the most beautiful example of this school at Washington is the bust of St. Catharine of Siena, a work which more than forty years ago Dr. Bode gave to Mino da Fiesole, but which at one time was attributed — quite erroneously — by some critics of Italian art to Neroccio di Landi.²

To any carping critic of the new National Gallery, I would say, in the words of Sir Thomas Browne: "Shun Zoilism and avoid Detraction." In the National Gallery there is so much to admire, so much to enjoy, so much to be grateful for, that, at the present time, it would be singularly ungracious to stress the natural ailments of its precocious infancy. The few things that, after due consideration, are not deemed worthy of a place there will be removed from the Gallery. In the meantime, let us "praise the deeds of good men," and let us rejoice in the contemplation of so many beautiful things that, through their efforts, have become the permanent possession of the people of America.

— LANGTON DOUGLAS

¹Curtis, *Velasquez and Murillo*, London and New York, 1883, pp. XXI-XXVII. "For upwards of two centuries, has ranked as the best painter in Spain. The best pictures of Murillo have sold, and will sell, for more than those of any artist except Raphael."

²Cf. Langton Douglas, *The Nineteenth Century and After*, No. 333, Nov., 1904, *The Exhibition of Early Art in Siena*, pp. 758, 759.

A LEONARDO PROFILE

In the April, 1941, number of *ART IN AMERICA*, Dr. W. Suida published the profile portrait of a beautiful young girl of about sixteen or seventeen years and proposed to attribute it to Leonardo da Vinci. The stylistic evidence in favor of this attribution is indeed absolutely convincing. In addition to the comparisons which Dr. Suida made, I should like to call the attention of the reader especially to the study for the *Virgin of the Rocks* in Turin and to some studies of drapery in Windsor.¹

Dr. Suida has also attempted to identify the sitter. He hesitates between Beatrice d'Este and Lucretia Crivelli, and after having weighed all pros and cons he declares himself in favor of identifying the sitter with Lucretia Crivelli, dating the picture about 1497.

There is, however, one serious objection which must be raised against this identification. There still exists a portrait of Lucretia Crivelli. It is a profile portrait attributed to Ambrogio de Predis, formerly in the collection of the Earl of Roden, which was exhibited in the Italian Exhibition of 1930 in London. The lady in this portrait wears a belt, and on the belt we notice the initials "L. C." with a minute Moor's head between them.² Lucretia, as we know, was a friend of Il Moro, and the identification of the lady in the portrait with her appears to be justified. However, the features of the lady in the portrait are quite different from the features of the lady in the new Leonardo portrait (Fig. 3).

Besides, there is the problem of date. From a stylistic point of view, the new portrait ought to be dated several years earlier. It is sometimes difficult to measure stylistic distances, but if we try to place the portrait between the *Virgin of the Rocks* which may have been finished about 1490, the drawing of Isabella d'Este of 1499, or the portrait of Mona Lisa which was begun in 1503, we must conclude that the style of the profile portrait is much closer to the style of the *Virgin of the Rocks*. In consequence we would have to assume that the portrait was more likely painted during the early part of the 90's than the second part.

Dr. Suida also argues that the fashion of the sleeve puffs which we notice in the portrait would point to the second half of the 90's. This fashion, however, had already been introduced during the 80's and was beginning to be popular in the early 90's. Compare the costumes of women in Crivelli's and Carpaccio's paintings of that period.

The fashion of the hair dress in the portrait is quite possible for the early 90's. In Cristoforo Romano's bust of Beatrice d'Este, which must have been executed in 1490 or 1491, the hair dress is the same as in her portrait in the Pala Sforzesca of 1495, but in both cases she is obviously wearing a ceremonial costume. In Domenico Ghirlandaio's fresco representing the *Birth of the Virgin*, in Santa Maria Novella in Florence, which was painted between 1485 and 1490, we notice the same hair dress with the long braid, but there are also two women with hair flowing down loosely in waves, as in the portrait. Beatrice herself also shows the same arrangement of the hair in Cristoforo Solari's marble tomb in the Certosa di Pavia.

As far as I can see, no serious objection can be raised against an earlier date for the portrait, and I think we should reconsider the question whether the sitter might not after all be Beatrice d'Este. Dr. Suida, in his article, enumerates five authentic portraits of Beatrice which are still in existence. The lady in the profile portrait shows

¹Illustrated in Bodmer *Leonardo* pp. 151 & 287. (*Klassiker der Kunst*).

²Cf. A. E. Hewett, *A Newly Discovered Portrait by Ambrogio de Predis*, *Burlington Magazine*, 1906, Vol. 10, p. 309 — H. Cook *L'Arte*, 1907, p. 150 — Suida *Leonardo*, 1929, pp. 172 & 280 — Malaguzzi-Valeri *La Corte Di Lodovico Il Moro*, Vol. 1, p. 514.



FIG. 2. AMBROGIO DA PREDA: LUCRETIA CRIVELLI
Otto Gutekunst Collection, London

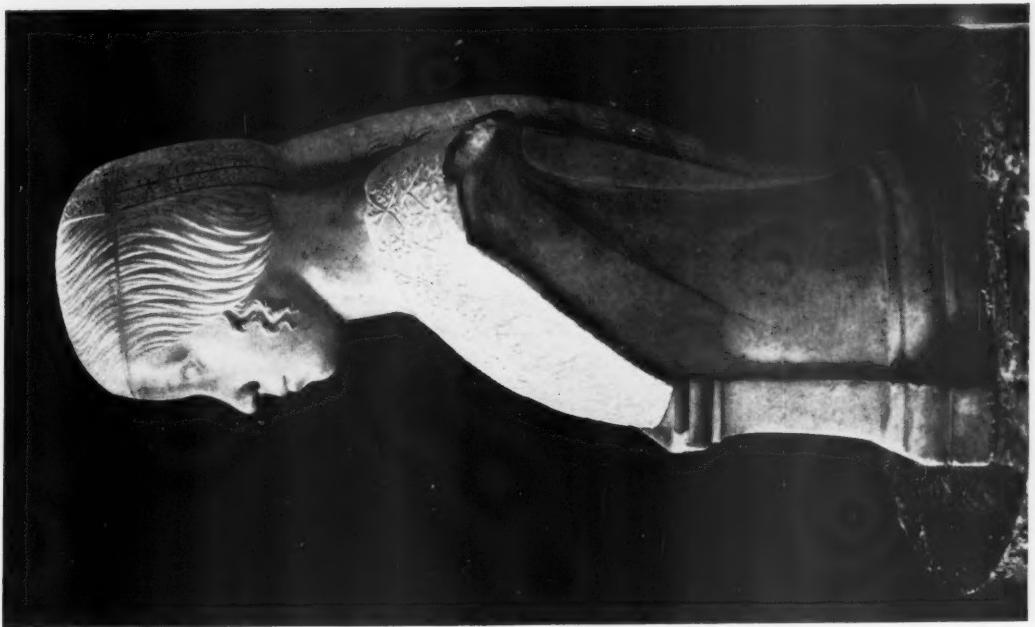


FIG. 1. CRISTOFORO ROMANO: BEATRICE D'ESTE
Louvre, Paris



FIG. 3. LEONARDO: PORTRAIT OF A LADY
Formerly Conte di Castel Pizzoni, Milan

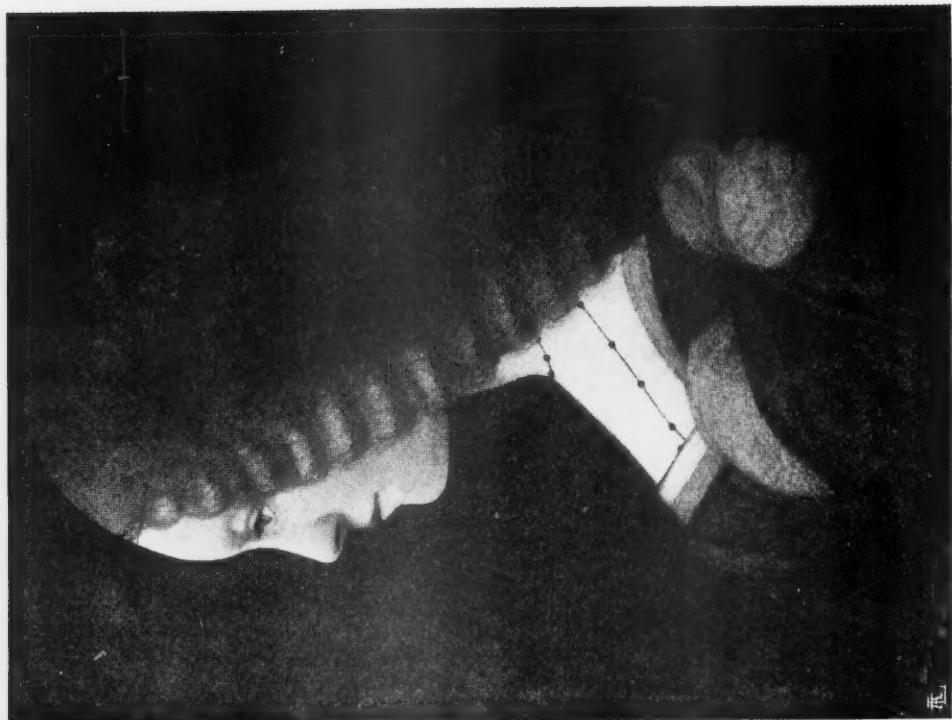


FIG. 4. COPY FROM A LOST ORIGINAL: BEATRICE D'ESTE
Museo Artistico, Milan

an extraordinary likeness to these portraits, especially so, however, to Cristoforo Romano's portrait bust and to the portrait in the Pala Sforzesca (Figs. 1 and 2). In comparing the three profiles we must, however, take into consideration the fact that the head of the sitter in Leonardo's portrait is inclined, as can be seen from the position of the neck. On account of this inclination the dome of the head is shown at a sloping angle, whereas in the two other portraits the head is kept in a strictly erect position. Dr. Suida, in his article, admits that the likeness between the new portrait and the historical portraits is very great.

It is true that no portrait of Beatrice by Leonardo is mentioned in the literary sources. Dr. Valentiner, however, in his article on Beatrice d'Este, came to the conclusion that for various reasons it is more than likely that Ludovico had had a portrait of his wife painted by Leonardo during her lifetime.³ Besides, there is no reason to believe that all of Leonardo's works are recorded in the literary sources which still exist.

In March of 1492, Leonardo spent some time with the Duke and Duchess at their castle in Vigevano. It seems possible that the portrait was painted then and there. This would explain why the Duchess is represented in a dress which might be called informal, and if the picture remained in Vigevano it would be quite understandable why the portrait is not recorded in the literary sources of Leonardo's time.

It is of course unusual for the Duchess to be represented in an informal dress and without jewels. But, as it happens, another portrait of a similar type is preserved in the Museo Artistico in Milan⁴ (Fig. 4). It is evidently a copy from a lost original. In this portrait Beatrice wears a costume with puffs in the sleeves and the hair falls in loose waves. She wears no jewels and no necklace, but only a plain knotted string as in Leonardo's portrait.

Every discovery of a new painting is apt to change to a certain extent our conception of the master's personality and style. The attribution of this unknown portrait of Beatrice d'Este to Leonardo must also necessarily influence our ideas regarding Leonardo's art as a portrait painter. The new portrait fits well into the small chain of authentic portraits known to us. The *Lady with the Ermine* would be the earliest, then would follow the portrait of Beatrice d'Este, the drawing of her sister, Isabella d'Este, and the portrait of Mona Lisa. On the other hand, the attribution of *La Belle Feronniere* to Leonardo becomes increasingly doubtful. It may have been painted in Leonardo's studio, but it seems much more likely that Boltraffio, as has already been suggested, must be held responsible for the execution. — GEORGE MARTIN RICHTER

³W. R. Valentiner, *Leonardo's Portrait of Beatrice d'Este*, in *Art in America*, 1937, Vol. 25, p. 3. In this article the author proposed to identify *La Belle Feronniere* in the Louvre with Beatrice d'Este. *La Belle Feronniere* certainly very much resembles the portrait of Beatrice in the Pala Sforzesca of about 1495.

⁴Cf. Malaguzzi-Valeri, Vol. I, p. 383.

SHERMAN MEMORIAL EXHIBITION

The collection of paintings formed by the late Frederic Fairchild Sherman and exhibited during April at the George Walter Vincent Smith Art Gallery in Springfield, Massachusetts, is an impressive example of the triumph of instinct, knowledge and discrimination unaided by the power of great wealth. Mr. Sherman was one of the few who understood that quality in a work of art does not depend upon its size nor necessarily upon its fame, and he knew that pictorial beauty and grandeur can be contained in a few square inches of canvas. In a time when museums, as well as private

collectors, so often buy names rather than intrinsic values, it is refreshing to come upon this collection, the result of a self-reliant and independent judgment. The names are here, too, but also artists comparatively obscure whose pictures Mr. Sherman bought simply because he loved them. And there are paintings by the masters, some of them in unfamiliar moods.

Except for a few isolated examples in museums, it is a rare occasion to find so many genuine Ryders brought together. We hear a great deal about Ryder nowadays, but we seldom see many good examples of his work. The exquisite *Ophelia* and the rich and sombre *Wreck* are two of the finest Ryders ever painted. The *Ophelia* is as romantic as a Delacroix, and delightful in design, form and color. Blakelock we seldom see represented outside the museums, and the series here shown reveals once more his rare and original genius. These little pictures are like dark opals, flashing with gleams of green and gold, as rich and glowing as antique amber. Winslow Homer, in two early pictures, *Haymaking* (illustrated, p. 162) and *Going Ashore*, appears in the unusual role of a colorist. These two pictures are not only pleasing in pattern but gem-like in their color, deep in their tonality.

Homer Martin, Wyant and Inness are represented by early landscapes of great refinement. The little Inness *Italian Pastoral* is perhaps the loveliest single landscape in the collection, as sparkling in color and elegant in design as a Bonington or a Turner. La Farge with his *Lady of Shalott*, from the great William T. Evans collection, is well shown, and there are typical works by many others of our best painters. Twachtman has a breezy gray and green landscape; Chase, a fluent little figure, and Duveneck a solidly painted portrait, as well as a spirited sketch of two small heads. There is a unique and brilliant study of an octopus, by Sargent, painted aboard a Brittany fishing vessel when he was a boy of nineteen. Sorolla supplies a varied accent, a tiny sketch of figures set in a cloudy landscape which contains in essence much of the vitality of his larger canvases.

Another surprise is a firm little study by the French painter J. B. A. Guillemet whose work is seldom seen in this country. He was a friend of Manet and the Impressionists and an excellent landscape painter. A group of pictures by Robert L. Newman recalls a half-forgotten but distinct achievement in our art. A lovely unfinished nude, *Lassitude*, by Wyatt Eaton, is a picture of indefinable charm. Elliot Orr adds to the interest of this assembly with some exceptionally poetic and original small landscapes and marines, and Mrs. Julia Munson Sherman contributes panels of her brilliant and exquisite enamels in a silver box designed by Miss Antoinette Scudder. There is also a small collection of early American portraits, a few Dutch and Italian pictures of fine quality, and a choice selection of prints.

It is to be hoped that in the future these pictures will find as sympathetic and appreciative custody as they have had in the past thirty or forty years. We can wish them nothing better than that.

— NELSON C. WHITE

SPANISH PAINTING AT TOLEDO

The Toledo Museum of Art presented from March 16 to April 27 as the major event of its winter season a special exhibition of Spanish painting. The exhibition was organized by José Gudiol, formerly curator of the Museum at Vich in Catalonia, and at present visiting professor at the Toledo Museum. Representative works from the

twelfth through the early nineteenth century, including first-rate pictures by all of the leading painters, afforded the visitor an excellent comprehensive view of the major aspects of painting in Spain.

Reviewing the exhibition chronologically we come to the rarest and most interesting feature at once: the series of Romanesque frescoes from the small Mozarabic church of San Baudilio de Berlanga which was transferred to canvas some fifteen years ago and brought to this country. The whole series was on display except for the *Three Marys at the Tomb* and the *Last Supper*, owned by the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston. With great ingenuity Mr. Gudiol reconstructed the original setting for the murals. Although no attempt was made to reproduce the exact dimensions of the original church at Berlanga, it approximated the strange architecture of the building with its cylindrical pier in the center from which radiate flat ribs of horseshoe shape. With the murals set in the wall and the room dimly lighted, the visitor was presented with an æsthetic experience which, of its kind, could be duplicated only in Spain itself. It inevitably re-enforced the opinion that in the decoration of a wall surface the Byzantine and Romanesque styles have never been surpassed. Still more notable than scenes from the life of Christ are the unusual *Hunter on Horseback* and the numerous fantastic animals brilliant both in design and color.

Franco-Gothic and Italo-Gothic painting of the fourteenth century provided some interesting but unimportant panels. The fifteenth century, however, one of the most prolific in the history of Spanish art, was well illustrated with familiar pictures such as the *Annunciation* by Juan de Burgos (lent by the Fogg Museum), the retable of St. Michael and the Trinity (Metropolitan Museum), the *Marriage at Cana* (collection of Mr. Preston Satterwhite), and Juan de Flandes' *Christ Crowned by Thorns* (Detroit Institute of Arts). Less well known but of very high quality were the small panel by a follower of Luis Borrassá, *Christ before Pilate* with exquisitely fluid and decorative late-Gothic drawing and a delicately balanced harmony of lavender, dark reds, and greenish-blue against the gold background, the *Mass of St. Gregory*, a Castilian work of about 1480 painted in full rich reds and gold, and Fernando Gallego's *Epiphany*, acquired in recent months by the Toledo Museum.

The Renaissance in Spain was almost completely neglected at Toledo, a portrait by Sánchez Coello being its sole representative. Not an outstanding period in Spanish painting, the Renaissance has never found favor with American collectors, and hence the dearth of material in this country. One good picture by Morales, however, would have been welcome.

El Greco, Velázquez, and Goya each received the special honor of a separate room entirely devoted to their works. Goya fared best both in quantity and quality. All of the canvases had previously appeared in the Goya exhibition at Chicago last January and February except a *St. Paul*, painted with the loaded brush—work of his last period and surprisingly akin to Ribera in color and expression. A few choice and familiar works by El Greco included the Minneapolis *Purification of the Italian period*, Mr. Arthur Sach's picture of the *Agony in the Garden*, and the *Annunciation* lent by Mr. Ralph M. Coe. A splendid idea of Velázquez's youthful achievement, his magnificent objective portraiture, and his superb rendering of the solid volumes and the reflected lights of still life could be obtained by studying canvases of *The Servant* (Art Institute of Chicago), the *Portrait of a Man* (Detroit Institute of Arts), the *Man with a Wine Glass* of Toledo's own collection, and *St. Simon* from a series of the apostles. One cannot avoid reflecting, however, upon the selection of pictures by El Greco and

Velázquez which might be made from American private collections and museums, if there were restrictions neither upon the purse strings nor in the lending of works of art.

One large room contained pictures by Ribera, Murillo, and Zurbarán with single works by Alonso Cano, Collantes, and the little-known Menéndez, painter of still life in the Dutch manner. Ribera overshadowed all others, as might have been expected, with four good canvases, among them the *St. Jerome* (Fogg Museum) and the *Portrait of a Musician* (Toledo Museum). Ribera's vigorous draftsmanship, his beauty of color especially in the Fogg picture, and the rugged virility of his characterizations appeared at their best. This, nevertheless, is only one side of Ribera's personality as an artist. Other phases, not represented at Toledo, are seen in works such as the lovely *Holy Family with St. Catherine* in Metropolitan Museum, and the *Death of Adonis* in the Corsini Gallery in Rome. Murillo, on the whole, came off rather poorly in spite of the inclusion of a charming little oil sketch of predominantly neutral blue representing *Jacob and Rachel at the Well* (collection of Mr. Samuel H. Kress). Zurbarán's two pictures are good but not his inspired best. Here, as frequently, he bogged down when confronted with a composition requiring several figures. *The Legend of the Bell* (Cincinnati Art Museum) is a case in point where individual figures are superb in characterization and in painting of costume (see illustrated detail, p. 162), but the composition as a whole lacks unity and significance both pictorially and dramatically.

The recent exhibition of Spanish Painting at Toledo was another notable instance of the high standards and broad scope of the educational programs of leading museums throughout the country. Toledo's contribution has been so outstanding during recent years that their plans for next season are eagerly awaited.

— HAROLD E. WETHEY

NEW ART BOOKS

CARL MILLES. By Meyric Rogers. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1940. 73 pp., 163 plates, \$15.00.

Taking up the new book on Carl Milles, one is impressed by the desire of both author and publisher to do justice to the sculptor's genius, and to give the reader every chance to check by informative facts and visual proofs his own response to the artist's work. Many questions come to mind — what is the result when a temperament formed in one environment is transplanted to another and given every opportunity that sympathetic patronage can devise to nurture it? how successfully can sculpture with an intense and independent imaginative life of its own fit into the scheme of modern architecture and city planning in America? how are form and texture made to serve the sculptor's program? — to all these, and many more, the reply is given, not only in terms of the opinion of the author but in a rich photographic documentation. The photographs were made with skill and discernment and they are reproduced at so large a size that something of the actual scale of the sculptures is retained. Furthermore this large format has enabled the publisher to minimize the destructive tendencies of a half-tone plate.

— CLARENCE KENNEDY

LA PEINTURE FRANCAISE: LES PRIMITIFS. By Charles Sterling. Librairie Flourey, Paris, 1938.

To anyone who has been teaching the history of early French painting the lack of a concise and reliable handbook must have appeared as most distressing. Sterling's slim volume fills this gap, at least for the French-reading student. At the present it is even more: as far as I can see it is the only history of early French painting which is both complete and up to date. Its 194 halftones (many of little-known works) are generally satisfactory and its critical apparatus, though badly crowded, provides useful bibliographical information. The main merit, however, lies in the critical restraint with which the author proceeds in one of the most difficult fields of historical research. He tries to establish with sensitive discrimination the personalities of the leading artists and the character of the many regional schools, pointing at the same time to the political and social conditions which are reflected in them. If he nevertheless makes concessions to a traditional manner of historiography in talking of such vague and methodically unsound generalities as "le génie national," "l'esprit Français," "l'esprit wallon," or "le goût pour les descriptions picturales précises de l'individu, éminemment Français" we feel that the merits of his book more than make up for such rhetorical flourishes.

— JULIUS S. HELD

ARTISTIC THEORY IN ITALY 1450-1600. By Anthony Blunt. New York, Oxford University Press, 1940. 168 pp., 12 plates, \$2.75.

Until recently the questions to which students of Italian art have sought an answer were usually historical or stylistic in character. They have asked and found the answer to such questions as: "In what year and place was Castagno born?" and "What other pictures can be attributed to the charming *anonimo* who painted the *Nativity* from the Villa di Castello?" Much still remains to be discovered before our reconstruction of the period is complete—we still need to know, for instance, the birth date of Domenico Veneziano and what precisely Antonio Pollaiuolo was doing in the blank years between 1480 and 1489 when Lorenzo de' Medici wrote of him as "perhaps the greatest artist of all time"—but our curiosity has begun to range farther afield. Since the publication of Panofsky's *Iconology*, we feel that it is not enough to know that the Worcester panel of the *Discovery of Honey* was painted by Piero di Cosimo in oil toward 1498 for Giovanni Vespucci and that its writhing poses, epitomized in the humped and twisted willow tree in the center, mark a moment of mannerism in Florence before the great wave of the High Renaissance, but we also want to know why Piero chose such a subject and where he got the material for his interpretation of it. The Oxford Press has just published a book which poses and answers for us a still broader question: "What was the belief of the men of the Renaissance about the nature of art and the nature of beauty?" The material has always been at hand in Schlosser's *Kunstliteratur*, but until now that approach has seemed to be on the side of erudition and once removed from art. Anthony Blunt's lucid exposition of the course of art theory from Alberti to Lomazzo makes us realize that the writers on art of the period were actually in step with their own times and that in their works we can come closer to the dominating forces behind the images and the brush strokes and the drawing which we so much admire.

The book is in itself a *tour de force*. To have reduced to 159 small octavo pages of very readable English such a welter of material can only arouse our gratitude and admiration—Alberti, for all his vaunted Bolognese education, having but a halting

command of the vernacular and little sense of clarity of exposition, Francesco Colonna and Lomazzo being tedious in the extreme, not to mention Vasari, who for all his charm, fills three good-sized volumes even without Milanesi's notes.

The conclusions which Mr. Blunt has drawn from his material are, for the most part, objective and sound. One is startled, however, to find the Neoplatonism of the last half of the Quattrocento characterized as a tyrant's cloak to distract men's minds from Medici ambitions, and one feels that the deductions made from Michelangelo's sonnets are open to debate. The author catalogues them as serenely humanistic in his early period, only more mystically Platonic in the first phase of the Counter Reformation, and profoundly Christian and anti-pagan in his closing years when the triumph of the anti-Protestant faction in the Church had obliterated the rationalism of the Renaissance. It is doubtful whether Michelangelo fits into this historical framework quite so neatly as that, and whether there was not in him from beginning to end—from the Bacchus to the Rondanini Pietà—a sharp conflict between earthly and heavenly beauty, between Christian and pagan, which was never fully resolved.

But the main thesis of the book, whether or not Michelangelo is a perfect example, that the shift from a Renaissance to a Counter-Reformation ideology in Italy had a revolutionary effect upon art and upon the attitude of all men toward art is unassailable. And that that shift meant the substitution of authority for the humane reason of Alberti and Leonardo is equally saddening and incontrovertible. One follows the development through one century of the idea of painting as a science based on nature to be learned by reason and method and not by inviolable rules and then sees that idea supplanted in the next century by a concept of painting as a routine based on the previously perfected art of Rome, whether of Leo or Augustus, and one recognizes that the whole story of Italian art is implicit in that change in values and fundamental assumptions.

— RUTH WEDGWOOD KENNEDY

BOOKS RECEIVED

- PORTRAITS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA. Edited by Agnes Addison. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940. 66 pp. text, 26 plates, \$3.00.
- SPACE IN MEDIEVAL PAINTING AND THE FORERUNNERS OF PERSPECTIVE. By Miriam Schild Bumim. New York, Columbia University Press, 1940. 216 pp. text, 34 pp. illus., \$5.00.
- SOME APPROACHES TO A JUDGMENT IN PAINTING. By Sir Augustus Daniel. Cambridge, University Press, 1940. 36 pp., 1 shilling and sixpence.
- ARTISTS SAY THE SILLIEST THINGS. By Guy Pène du Bois. New York, Duell, Sloan & Pierce (American Artists Group), 1940. 264 pp. text, 32 plates, \$3.75.
- THE ATHENEUM GALLERY. By Mabel Munson Swan with an introduction by Charles Knowles Bolton. Boston, Boston Atheneum, 1940. 312 pp., illus., \$6.00.
- HAGIA SOPHIA. By Emerson Howland Swift. New York, Columbia University Press, 1940. Pp. XVIII + 270, illus., \$10.00.
- THIS IS GREECE. By M. Alison Frantz and Lucy Talcott. New York, Hastings House, 1941. 120 pp. of photographs repr., \$2.50.
- ARCHITECTURE IN OLD CHICAGO. By Thomas E. Tallmadge. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1941. 208 pp., \$3.00.
- ENJOY YOUR MUSEUM. Edited by Carl Thurston. Pasadena, Esto Publishing Co., 1940. 3 vols., 42 booklets boxed, \$3.75 (.10 each).
- THE STRUCTURE OF ART. By Carl Thurston. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1940. 190 pp., illus., \$2.50.

FOUR LETTERS BY J. S. SARGENT CONCERNING HIS
PORTRAIT OF ADA REHAN

The letters which are appended were written by John Singer Sargent to Mrs. George M. Whitin, who had commissioned him to paint the portrait of the famous Shakespearian actress, Ada Rehan, which is now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art.¹ The letters, not hitherto published, cover the period between January 27, 1894, and August 22, 1895, and are reprinted through the kindness of their owner, Mrs. E. Kent Swift, to whom they descended from her mother, Mrs. Whitin. They throw some interesting light on Sargent's choice of setting for the portrait, and the progress of the painting. The painting itself shows evidence of the changes which took place during its execution, especially in the region of the shoulders, where the difference in the tonality of the flesh tint is quite apparent.

— H. W. WILLIAMS

Jan. 27th, 1894
Morgan Hall,
Fairford,
Gloucestershire

My dear Mrs. Whitin

Before receiving your letter I had a note from Miss Rehan who informed me that you had cabled to her and invited me to call which, as I was in London, I did at once. I am glad that you incline to a portrait *not* in character, as both she and I feel the same way. This is all that we could decide at the time, but when I go up to town again she is coming to my studio with several dresses to choose from, and there in the proper light, I will be able to come to conclusion about the treatment of the picture. I think it ought to be a full length in spite of the fact that it will have to stand on the ground or very nearly.

The price that I asked you for painting Miss Rehan (\$2500) is below my usual price and you would do me a favor by not mentioning it, as I have several orders to fulfill in America at a higher figure.

I think the whole impression, and the upper part of Miss Rehan's face is very fine, and I hope I shall satisfy your ambition for the portrait.

We expect to accomplish it in the months of March and April. Believe me

Yours truly

JOHN S. SARGENT

[Envelope stamped Aug. 23, '94]
Aug. 22nd
33, Tite Street,
Chelsea. S. W.

Dear Mrs. Whitin

I am late in answering your first and have just received your second letter.

I would be very glad to exhibit Miss Rehan's portrait at the Century Club, but I believe it is a rule with the Academy that a picture must not be exhibited elsewhere in New York beforehand. The Academy exhibition opens on Dec. 10 & closes Jan. 8th so if it goes to the Century it would have to be after that.

As for photographing the picture, it ought not to be done before the picture is

¹H. W. Williams, Jr., 'Ada Rehan by Sargent,' *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 1941, v. 36, no. 1, p. 19.

varnished and it is not yet even finished. It can be photographed just as well in New York, and as there is a duty on photographs going into America it might as well be done there. I have no special knowledge of other processes of reproduction and will leave this entirely to you or your friends.

Believe me

Yours faithfully

JOHN S. SARGENT

March 22nd/ 1895
33, Tite Street,
Chelsea. S. W.

Dear Mrs. Whitin

I have just received your letter from Alexandria, and am glad to know of your whereabouts as I was just about to write to you to America.

Miss Rehan's portrait has only lately been finished, as all winter long I have been unable to work at anything but my Boston decoration for which I have been much pressed by the trustees of the library. Hence the reason of my not having been able to send the portrait to New York.

The picture has now a background of tapestry which improves it very much. I have found a charming old frame for it which I hope you will approve of. I think the picture would look much better in an exhibition if it retained the original size of the canvas as you saw it. It will be an easy matter, when you want it in your home to cut a few inches off the top, and have the frame reduced to fit the height of your room.

It is a risk in the Royal Academy not to hang a full length portrait on the line, so I think it had better go to the New Gallery where you saw Mrs. Hammonoz's (Hammond's) portrait, and where it will have a first rate place.

I am leaving for Boston next week. My address there is Tavern Club, Boylston Place.

Believe me

Yours sincerely

JOHN S. SARGENT

[Aug. 22, 1895 stamped on envelope]
33 Tite St.
Chelsea
Aug. 22nd

Dear Mrs. Whitin

I have just returned to London and put Miss Rehan's portrait in my studio and looking very well I think. As I wrote to you on leaving New York I have in mind your suggestions, and will do some slight work to the background. I have by the way, not received any letter from you since then, in case you may have written.

It has been suggested to me that the best exhibition in New York to lend the portrait to would be that of the Portrait exhibition at the Academy, to be opened in November. It appears that last year a similar exhibition there was extremely successful. So that with your consent, I would propose sending it there, instead of to the winter exhibition of R. Academy which is a month later. Meanwhile would you like the portrait to stay here until it is time to ship it for the exhibition, or would you like to have it at your house first in which case I would send it over to you at once, by way of Boston if you prefer. Please let me know your wishes about the picture.

Believe me

Yours faithfully

JOHN S. SARGENT





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